AN INTERNATIONAL DAILY NEWSPAPER THURSDAY, MAY 6, 1993 75¢ ($1.00 CANADIAN)

THE CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR

COPYRIGHT © 1993 THE CHRISTIAN SCIENCE PUBLISHING SOCIETY – All rights reserved

VOL. 85, NO. 112

Panel Studies Impact Of New Immigrants On US Jobs, Wages

By John Dillin
Staff writer of The Christian Science Monitor

WASHINGTON

IMAGINE that you are a $6.50-an-hour hotel worker. You make beds, vacuum rooms, clean toilets. But today you lost your job to a Mexican immigrant who is willing to work for $4.35 an hour, with no benefits.

Now picture yourself as a computer programmer making $52,000 a year. The boss says, "You're fired." Two weeks later, your old job goes to a highly skilled PhD from India who is delighted to do it for $34,000.

Such experiences are becoming commonplace in the United States in the 1990s. From cab drivers to chemists, Americans face increased competition from newcomers, particularly from Asia and Latin America.

Federal officials, urged by big business and big agriculture, opened the nation's doors to 8.4 million immigrants in the 1980s. Recently, Congress liberalized the laws once again, and immigration could soar to over 10 million in the 1990s.

The Commission on Immigration Reform, a new federal agency, now is exploring whether these new residents are depressing wages and working conditions. Commission members, appointed by the White House and Congress, will release findings in two reports, the first of which is due in September 1994.

So far, commissioners are getting mixed reports, though some experts are clearly worried.

David North, who has studied the impact of immigration for

See **JOBS** *page 4*

Europeans: Christopher Is 'Consulting' on Bosnia

US presenting evolving Bosnia policy, analysts say, not setting terms

By Howard LaFranchi
Staff writer of The Christian Science Monitor

PARIS

AT the end of five hours of talks on the Bosnian crisis May 4 with French leaders, United States Secretary of State Warren Christopher at one point described the discussions as "genuine consultations."

That statement might seem hardly worth repeating if not for a growing characterization, especially among the US press travelling with the secretary, of Mr. Christopher's tour as failing in its mission to line up European allies behind United States plans for military intervention.

But from a European point of view, the secretary of state is in Europe to present a new – and still evolving – US policy on Bosnia, not to dictate the measures of an eventual military intervention.

Most analysts here say the two Western European powers "that count" in this discussion, Britain and France, will still fall in line behind the US if and when a clear decision for an international military role is actually made. The British would seek to preserve the "special" Anglo-American relationship, and the French would seek to prove, as they did during the Gulf war, that when push comes to shove they will not be isolated from their allies.

Europe's reticence about Balkan intervention was not about to be overcome by a single diplomatic tour by Secretary of State Warren Christopher.

But European doubts about the utility and consequences of military intervention, especially in a zone where European soldiers are already serving under the UN, were not about to be overcome by one visit, these analysts add. Just as in the period before the Gulf war, they say, the US lead on consultations and decisionmaking will need to be determined and intense.

"This is going to take a forceful, reliable American engagement, and a clear position from the Clinton administration of an unquestionable refusal of a greater Serbia in the former Yugoslavia," says Hans Stark, a Bosnian specialist at the French Institute for International Relations. "Only [then] will you overcome the continuing French and British reticence."

What Christopher's visits to London and Paris did reveal – ahead of stops in Moscow yesterday and Bonn today – is a convergence of views on steps to be taken in the event the Vance-Owen peace plan is accepted by the Bosnian Serbs and its implementation becomes imminent. **(Russian position, Page 6.)**

Views on a rapid recourse to military action, in the event the plan is not accepted, remain further apart.

As was already the case when European Community foreign ministers met last month in Denmark, most European countries remain adamantly opposed to lifting the UN arms embargo to allow rearming of Bosnia's Muslims. Air strikes aimed at Serbian heavy artillery installations have more support.

Following Christopher's visit with Foreign Minister Alain Juppé, ministry sources said it would be "well outside the reality"

See **BOSNIA** *page 4*

President Faces a Tough Sell for His National Service Plan

By Linda Feldmann
Staff writer of The Christian Science Monitor

WASHINGTON

IT has been several days now since President Clinton announced his national service program, and at the White House's Office of National Service, the letters are pouring in.

"These are the result of Friday's speech," says an eager young man, himself a volunteer, sorting the unopened mail from around the country. The letter writers, he assumes, are young Americans, ready to take up the president's call.

In fact, this office has been flooded with inquiries for weeks. But the problem with getting the program going has never been with the potential participants. It is with Congress, reluctant in this era of budget-slashing to add a new program costing perhaps

See **SERVICE** *page 4*

ROBERT HARBISON – STAFF/FILE

WITH THIRD GRADERS: *Shawn Bowden helps out at a Boston elementary school in the City Year program earlier this year. It is a model for Clinton's national service program. Participants work for a school year on service activities.*

Polaroid Develops A New Image
Company predicts that long-term projects will pay off this year and buoy its stock.
9

Chefs Share Their Tricks
A video and book that go beyond ingredients into the hows and whys of cooking.
12

CLINTON MOVES TO REMEDY SETBACKS
President Clinton, admitting that his administration appears unfocused, is adding an experienced Washington hand to his senior staff and plans to spend more time traveling to explain himself to an increasingly skeptical public, the Associated Press reports. Roy Neel, chief of staff to Vice President Al Gore, will move over to serve as deputy White House chief of staff, according to Neel associates. Clinton has huddled repeatedly with political advisers in recent days, expressing the dual goals of improving relations with Congress and reversing the recent slide in public support for his economic program.

Sessions, Reno to meet

Federal Bureau of Investigation Director William Sessions, whose job security has been in question since a Justice Department report accused him of ethical lapses, will meet with Attorney General Janet Reno this week to find out how she views his future, a department official said on condition of anonymity. Charges against him include inappropriate use of government cars and planes and use of government funds to build a fence around his home.

Vaccine plan changed

The Clinton administration has dropped its plan to make the government the sole purchaser of childhood vaccines for free distribution to rich and poor alike, officials acknowledged yesterday. Instead, it is now backing a compromise to provide free, government-purchased vaccine to all children uninsured or on Medicaid, officials said. The move is expected to cut the cost of Clinton's $1.1 billion immunization initiative in half.

Mideast talks extended

Syrian Foreign Minister Farouq al-Shara confirmed yesterday in Damascus that Arabs have decided to extend their current round of peace talks with Israel for a third week. He said the negotiations, which resumed in Washington April 27 after a four-month suspension, had not made any significant progress. In Jerusalem, however, Nabil Shaath, a political adviser to PLO chairman Yasser Arafat, said Israeli and Palestinian negotiators could produce a declaration of principles governing major areas of an agreement during their current round of peace talks.

Rafsanjani to run again

Iranian President Hashemi Rafsanjani will run in Iran's June 11 presidential elections and has filed his application, Hamshahri newspaper reported yesterday. Mr. Rafsanjani, a self-declared pragmatist running on a platform of economic reform, is widely expected to win a second four-year term. He was elected president with 94.5 percent of the vote in July 1989

Split decision

It was a draw for the Democrats and the Republicans as Ohio voters sent a former Bush administration lawyer to the House, while Wisconsin voters narrowly elected a Democrat to succeed Defense Secretary Les Aspin in Congress. Ohio Republican Rob Portman trounced Democrat Lee Hornberger Tuesday and will succeed former GOP Rep. Willis Gradison, who resigned to become a lobbyist. Portman had won 70 percent of the votes. In Wisconsin, Democratic state Rep. Peter Barca edged Republican Mark Neumann for the House seat Mr. Aspin held for 22 years before resigning to join President Clinton's Cabinet.

Strike to widen

The IG Metall union said yesterday its three-day-old strike in eastern Germany would spread after talks aiming to end the region's first legal work stoppage in more than 60 years collapsed.

'Honest Poverty' sells

A book attacking Japan's increasingly money-centered, disposable society and extolling the virtues of a simple life has become a runaway best-seller. To the astonishment of both author and publisher, whose initial print run was just 8,000, "The Concept of Honest Poverty" by Koji Nakano has sold 600,000 copies in the past eight months. It has been reprinted 40 times.

– Compiled by David Mutch

NATIONAL

Twitchell Conviction Is Appealed Before Massachusetts High Court

By James H. Andrews
Staff writer of The Christian Science Monitor

BOSTON

A LAWYER for a Christian Science couple argued before Massachusetts' highest court Tuesday that the 1990 trial of David and Ginger Twitchell should never have occurred, because a "spiritual-treatment provision" in Massachusetts law shielded them from prosecution in connection with the death of their son.

After a five-day illness in 1986, Robyn Twitchell died from what was later diagnosed as a bowel obstruction caused by a birth defect. Mr. and Mrs. Twitchell were convicted by a jury of involuntary manslaughter because they relied on prayer rather than conventional medicine to heal the 2-1/2-year-old boy. They were sentenced to 10 years' probation and must get periodic medical checkups for their remaining three children.

In his appeal of the conviction, lawyer Steven Umin also contended to the seven justices on the state's Supreme Judicial Court that, even if the prosecution of the Twitchells were authorized, rulings by the trial judge violated the couple's constitutional rights to due process and to freedom from state interference in religion.

Arguing for the government, assistant district attorney Marcy Cass claimed that the spiritual treatment provision in a child-neglect statute does not bar prosecution of parents under a separate manslaughter statute when, in the government's view, parents have failed to protect their children adequately against serious health risks.

A central issue in the arguments, which lasted less than an hour, was the relationship between the child-neglect and manslaughter statutes. The former provides that a "child shall not be deemed to be neglected or lack proper physical care for the sole reason that he is being provided remedial treatment by spiritual means alone...."

Massachusetts' manslaughter statute, for its part, punishes "wanton and reckless" conduct that results in death. The prosecution contends that, in failing to get medical attention for Robyn in light of what the state claims was the "obvious" seriousness of the boy's condition, his parents were criminally reckless. Ms. Cass said the Twitchells should have realized that the spiritual-treatment exemption in the neglect statute could not be "read into" the manslaughter law.

According to the Twitchells' lawyers, however, the neglect statute gives Massachusetts parents the option to obtain spiritual, rather than medical, care for their children. Since the Twitchells were relying on spiritual treatment and therefore had no obligation to take Robyn to a doctor, these lawyers say, they did not breach any "duty" in a way that was "wanton and reckless."

Moreover, the Twitchells' lawyers assert, trial Judge Sandra Hamlin in effect "rewrote" and "trivialized" the neglect statute when she ruled that the spiritual treatment provision does not apply to serious health risks. In applying this "novel" interpretation of the statute retroactively to the Twitchells, defense lawyers say, the judge denied the couple "fair warning" that their conduct could subject them to prosecution.

(Last year the Florida Supreme Court reversed the manslaughter conviction of a Christian Science couple in comparable circumstances, holding that two ambiguous and conflicting statutes "created a trap" for the parents that violated due process. In 1990 a Minnesota court dismissed an indictment of Christian Science parents on similar grounds.)

THE two sides also disagree on whether the Twitchell's conduct during their son's illness should be judged by the standard of the "reasonable Christian Scientist" or simply the "reasonable person," without regard to their Christian Science beliefs. In contending for the latter standard, the government claims that "reasonable" parents, seeing Robyn's condition, would have called a doctor. But Mr. Umin said the Twitchells, who "called on the full healing resources of the Christian Science community," acted reasonably.

In its brief and arguments, as at the trial, the prosecution insists that the child's condition deteriorated rather steadily and that he was in great pain. This assertion was contradicted at trial, however, by substantial eyewitness testimony that the boy's condition fluctuated greatly, at times seeming almost normal; that he only intermittently exhibited disturbing symptoms; and that there were few signs of an imminent crisis.

On the issue of religious freedom, the Twitchells' lawyers argue that the state put Christian Science on trial, in violation of the United States and Massachusetts constitutions. They point to the trial prosecutor's lengthy questioning of Christian Science witnesses as to their religious beliefs – often, Umin said, in "sarcastic" tones calculated to ridicule their views. Prosecutors deny this characterization of their tactics.

A decision is not expected for several months.

L.A. Mayoral Candidates Debate Crime

LOS ANGELES

A SPATE of violent carjackings, assaults on users of automated teller machines, and two failed ballot initiatives to hire 1,000 more police have helped push crime into the spotlight of the Los Angeles mayor's race.

"The election seems to be turning more on the crime issue than on the issue of jobs at this point," says John Brennan, director of the Los Angeles Times Poll.

City Councilman Michael Woo, who came in second in last month's mayoral primary, leads businessman Richard Riordan in the runoff by eight points, according to a recent poll. But the poll also shows that voters prefer Mr. Riordan's anticrime agenda to Mr. Woo's.

Woo last week proposed hiring 1,600 more officers over four years through cuts in other spending, budget shifts, and reassignment of desk-bound officers. Riordan, who has already proposed adding 3,000 officers by leasing L.A.'s airport to a private company, has forcefully underlined his idea in recent stump speeches.

But both plans have their critics. Councilman Zev Yaroslavsky says that Woo's plan "would be extraordinarily painful and disruptive to other [city] services" while Riordan's idea is even "more pie in the sky."

– Daniel B. Wood

A community cuts costs and covers the uninsured in a possible preview of national 'managed competition'

Florida Tests Health-Care Reform

By Marshall Ingwerson
Staff writer of The Christian Science Monitor

HOLLYWOOD, FLA.

OUT in the stucco stretches of the south Florida suburbs, Teresa Blanco's concern has been escalating. Since her husband changed jobs last fall, she and her two small children have had no health insurance.

The major local public hospital, Hollywood Memorial, has a different problem. It wrote off $28 million of billings last year to bad debt – mostly to working but uninsured people who received treatment they could not pay for.

Now the hospital, working with an insurance company and doctors, has created an innovative program that tries to address both its problem and Mrs. Blanco's. It is one of many innovations around the country testing out ideas that the White House may write into its national health-care plan, scheduled to be unveiled later this month.

Most of the notions fall under the broad concept of "managed competition." Many of these innovations have shown some good results, but few have a long track record or definitive results.

For Teresa Blanco, the choices were few. To add herself and her children onto her husband's employer-supplied policy would cost an extra $396 a month. "We can't afford that," she says. "To begin with, he's not making that much" in his job with an electronics firm.

She was almost resigned to signing up for a managed-care program that cost $209 a month, within the family budget. But they would have to go to the company's own clinics exclusively, and she had heard of problems there, such as the company dropping coverage of people who developed medical problems.

CLINTON AND HEALTH CARE

Last week, she was accepted in a plan at Memorial Hospital of Hollywood that will cost only $153 a month. "It's the cheapest I've ever found," she says. "It's wonderful."

Cheaper health coverage

The plan is for individuals or small businesses whose employees have have been without insurance for at least six months. Under the plan, a hospital, doctors, and an insurance company have discounted their services for those without insurance.

More than altruism is involved. For both the hospital and doctors, this represents a way to get some payment, even at reduced rates, for services that were going largely unpaid altogether.

"If we were lucky, we got 15 to 20 cents on the dollar" in payment from the uninsured, says Frank Sacco, Memorial's chief executive.

Because the hospital believes its mission is to treat everyone who comes in regardless of ability to pay, the uninsured already had access to health care. In 1992, the hospital performed $36 million worth of what Mr. Sacco calls charity care and another $28 million for working people without insurance. "The vast majority ends up as bad debt," he says. "It's not that they're deadbeats. They just have other priorities."

The hospital will not confirm how deeply it discounted its rates, but it has probably done what the more than 150 doctors who have signed onto the plan have done – accept Medicare-level rates. Nationally, Medicare rates are about 88 percent of the cost of providing services and 30 to 40 percent below retail prices.

The insurance company involved, American Medical Security (AMS) of Green Bay, Wis., agreed to price the policies at cost, without their usual underwriting profit of between 2 and 4 percent. The insurance firm earns goodwill and good press, but also does business that leads to more generous and profitable policies later. "For every policy we write under the access plan, we probably sell two regular policies," says Gail Choate of AMS.

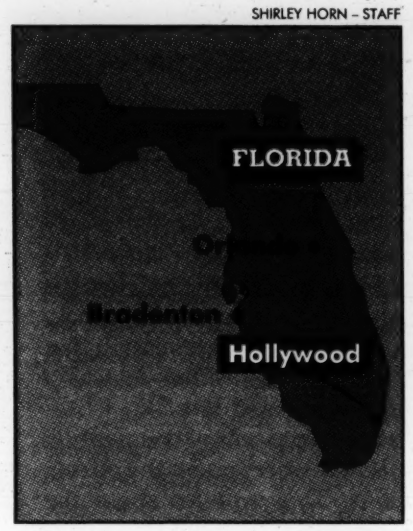
In theory, the plan should save money in two ways. With more people now paying something for their care, those who have been insured all along will have to subsidize less free care. Second, people with insurance are more likely to get checkups and preventive care, which is cheaper than using the emergency room.

The plan has been offered at Hollywood Memorial for only a month. It debuted three months earlier at a hospital across the state in Bradenton. Neither place has had time to see results yet.

The plan could be a preview of what is about to come across the nation, however. The Clinton administration has hinted for months about the possibility of putting cost controls on medical providers. During the campaign, Bill Clinton explicitly proposed global budgets that would cap all medical spending state by state.

On Friday, Hillary Rodham Clinton, who is running the White House task force charged with planning the overhaul of the health-care system, indicated that she may propose voluntary price controls on doctors, hospitals, and pharmaceuticals.

SHIRLEY HORN – STAFF



Doctors face cutbacks

Many doctors are in the same position as Memorial hospital. They take all patients who come to them, whether they pay or not. Melvin Grossman, a Hollywood neurologist, sets all his rates at the levels established for Medicare and Medicaid patients. "I don't have a money-making practice," he says.

Medical costs are too high, and doctors will have to cut their fees, he acknowledges. "So be it," he says. "But there are physicians who live at or above their means. I know some of them. They're going to have to change their lifestyles."

Efficiencies can save money, too. In central Florida, the Orlando Regional Medical Center has analyzed all its practices by computer for three years and compared their costs to regional and national norms. The tracking helps identify what is necessary and effective. The result is that operating expenses from admissions dropped 2 percent last year after previous increases of between 9 percent and 12 percent annually. The hospital also cut the use of expensive equipment between 4 percent and 40 percent in major areas.

This is the kind of careful management that health-care reformers want to encourage nationally.

Another example of managed competition is the California Public Employees' Retirement System. CALPERS negotiates prices and packages with health-care insurers and offers choices to its 887,000 members. With the leverage of its size, it held down premium increases below the national average for the past two years, although not for the three before that. The Clinton plan probably will put all Americans in such large purchasing groups.

A LOOK AT 'MANAGED COMPETITION'

Health-care costs are rising at more than 11 percent a year in the United States for several reasons:

- The current insurance system, insulated by tax breaks and heavy employer subsidies, has disconnected health-care users and providers from the costs of using medical care.
- As much as half of the increasing costs may come from very expensive high technology that most frequently only adds a few months to patients' lives.
- The 37 million Americans without insurance get less early preventive care and more late emergency care, which is expensive.

One solution

The "managed care" approach, which the Clinton administration favors, combines elements of free-market incentives and of government regulation and subsidy.

The market part of the system features:

- Buyers band together in purchasing groups to get big-company bargaining leverage over providers of health care, as well as the efficiencies of scale that cut administrative costs.
- The purchasing groups negotiate with full-service health-plan providers, such as health-maintenance organizations, or other networks of private doctors and clinics, to keep prices low. To keep quality high through consumer choice, each purchasing group offers members a menu of health plans to choose from.
- The US caps the tax deduction that employers and employees take for health-care premiums above a set level so that people bear more of the cost of very generous plans.

The regulation part of the system features:

- Government creates and subsidizes regional health insurance purchasing cooperatives that would also buy a minimum basic level of insurance for the poor or near-poor who cannot pay their own premiums.
- Businesses are required to offer insurance to their employees, and insurance companies are barred from turning anyone away because of medical history.

– M. I.

White House Aims to Slice Nation's Health Bill in Half

WASHINGTON

HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON told key senators this week that the White House health-care reform plan aims to hold the nation's health-care bill to half what it would be in a few years if no changes are made.

Mrs. Clinton said the long-range goal is to hold health costs to 10 percent of gross national product, about half the 20 percent of the gross national product that many economists expect health costs will consume by the end of the decade if no reforms are made. Currently, health costs are 14 percent of GNP – above $800 billion a year.

Sen. Dave Durenberger, a Minnesota Republican, told reporters Mrs. Clinton made the prediction at a two-hour meeting with members of the Senate Labor and Human Resources Committee.

Senator Durenberger predicted that the 10 percent of GNP for health costs could be reached within 10 years, based on success Minnesota has had in controlling costs. He also noted that a lower rate of growth would greatly help the budget deficit. Committee chairman Edward Kennedy (D) of Massachusetts noted that the cost of the health-care package should be considered in light of the cost of doing nothing to change the current system.

– Reuters

JOBS from page 1

the Ford Foundation and other organizations, says there is little doubt that many Americans are being hurt badly.

Mr. North notes "widespread depression of wages and working conditions" where immigrants congregate, particularly in metropolitan areas like Los Angeles, Miami, and New York.

On the other hand, Gregory DeFreitas, an economist at Hofstra University, suggests the facts are not so clear cut. Until 1989, Dr. DeFreitas says, there was considerable agreement that immigrants had "relatively small" effects on the wages and working conditions of native-born Americans. More recently, however, he says scholars have concluded that immigrants may be dragging down wages, especially for low-income Americans. But more research is needed.

Congress, in setting immigration policy, has generally sidestepped the issue of wages. A number of congressmen have responded favorably to arguments from several economists, such as Julian Simon of the University of Maryland, that on the whole, America benefits greatly from immigration – the more the better.

During their first two hearings, commissioners heard the other side of that story. George Borjas, an economist at the University of California at San Diego, said in a report to the commission that from the mid-1970s to 1990, "the real earnings of less-educated American men deteriorated at an unprecedented rate."

One reason: less-skilled Americans faced more competition from immigrants. Some experts especially worry about the effects of immigration on the nation's cities. They wonder about the impact of pouring large numbers of low-skilled immigrants into cities already facing high unemployment, crime, and poverty.

George High, executive director of the Center for Immigration Studies, warns that "competition between unskilled workers in our cities has contributed to social and racial tensions, especially between immigrants and American minorities."

North agrees. He says competition from immigrants is "extremely hard on the resident working poor."

These most vulnerable segments of American society are "clearly powerless and without political clout" in the halls of Congress, North says. Their voices are seldom heard, until a riot tears apart a section of a large city. Ironically, he says the growing numbers of black congressmen on Capitol Hill have done little to change the dynamics of federal immigration policy.

"Blacks have been hurt since Emancipation, politically and economically, by various waves of immigration," he says. "But ... black members of Congress identify with members of the smaller and more newly-arrived Hispanic Caucus, rather than with the black working poor in their own districts."

Immigration was scarcely an issue during the 1992 elections. Republican Patrick Buchanan brought it up in California, but only briefly. Yet experts suggest it soon will be. During the next 33 years, the population of the less-developed countries will rise by an estimated 3 billion, from 4.2 billion to 7.2 billion.

Pressures from people in impoverished nations to migrate to the US are expected to be "truly alarming," Mr. High says. The US, Europe, and other developed areas, such as Japan, clearly cannot absorb everyone who might wish to live there.

BOSNIA from page 1

to characterize the two men's positions on military intervention as "without common points."

"Clearly there is closer agreement on the steps to take in the event the [Vance-Owen] plan is signed, because on that there is now near alignment," says one ministry official. "It's true, there was less progress than that" on measures to take in the event the plan is not signed, "but it is also true ... that on this we moved closer together, rather than further apart."

French reservations remain strongest about lifting the arms embargo, out of fear that such a step would only increase the carnage and render the broader region more volatile.

The French took heart from Christopher's statement here that in his view any recourse to military action would require a new UN resolution – a position the US had not before clearly stated. Some observers have interpreted this French view as essentially a delaying tactic.

But just as in the Gulf war, the French want to be operating under UN authorization, should they take part in a military campaign, to allow some cover from inevitable charges that they are following a US lead.

Mr. Stark, who anticipates military intervention will become necessary, says he expects a step-by-step Western response: starting perhaps with the retreat of UN forces, then proceeding to some bombing or rearming of Bosnian Muslims.

But each step, he says, will require "clear American leadership."

European reluctance up to now has been based on two essential arguments, he says: that Russian President Boris Yeltsin would be damaged by military intervention; and that the US administration was divided and expressing strong reservations.

"Now those two arguments have disappeared, at least in the short term," Stark says.

"It will take some time for the Europeans to adjust their positions, but in fact that process is taking place," he adds. "If the situation arrives where the Americans finally decide it's time for action, the Europeans will go along. If they didn't, it would be perhaps the worst transatlantic crisis, and that is quite impossible."

SERVICE from page 1

$3.4 billion over the next four years for something that is not among the public's highest priorities.

Under the plan, at least 100,000 young people, ages 17 and older, would be able to work off up to $10,000 in college tuition costs ($5,000 per year) by performing community service in the area of public safety, health, environment, or education.

Even supporters of the legislation, which is being sent up to Capitol Hill today, have some concerns.

A senator has doubts

"The focus is on two years of public service to get out of paying a loan. To me that takes the edge off the community service aspects," says Sen. David Durenberger (R) of Minnesota, who as of Tuesday evening was the only Republican in the Senate co-sponsoring both the National Service bill and companion legislation to reform the government's student loan program.

"I'm in it for the community service side of it," Senator Durenberger continues. "It could be only one year, or there could be no $5,000 (loan forgiveness)."

People would be able to perform the service before, during, or after their college years. In addition to college loan forgiveness, they would receive a minimum-wage stipend and health and child-care benefits if needed.

Clinton's emissaries to Congress in the Office of National Service know they and the president have their work cut out for them. "Well, we don't want to be guilty of hubris, so we're assuming that we're going to have to be very diligent about our task," says Rick Allen, the office's deputy director.

He continues: "On the other hand, it's been really gratifying to us to see both the level of public support and also the bipartisan level of support that's developing in Congress. So there's still a lot of work to be done, but we're optimistic that we're going to be able to get it through and get it through on time and be appropriated as part of fiscal year '94."

Mr. Allen is confident that this summer's smaller-scale program, already in place, will demonstrate that the president's larger plan deserves support.

'Summer of service'

The "summer of service" is a 9 1/2-week program with emphasis on leadership training for the roughly 1,600 young people aged 17 to 25 who are taking part. Participants receive minimum wage plus a $1,000 post-service benefit.

Clinton's full national-service plan would not establish a large federal bureaucracy to administer it – an essential selling point – but rather will rely mostly on programs run by local agencies around the country, which will apply for federal grant money and will set their own criteria for participation. Boston's City Year program – which takes in youths from all walks of life – fits well with the program, Allen says.

Neediest not targeted

For the national program, the aim of including youth from all social classes leaves some congressmen concerned that it will not do enough to benefit the neediest youth – for whom a shot at college may make the difference between a productive life and life on welfare or in jail. The 100,000 participants would represent only a tiny fraction of the nation's 13 million college students.

Others are concerned that if the government is going to put billions of more dollars into post-secondary education, it would be more cost-effective simply to boost aid to education, rather than assuming the costs of the wages, administration, training, and other benefits associated with the National Service plan.

But Clinton's aim is not just to boost aid to education. It is also to instill a sense of civic responsibility in the nation's youth. Congressional sources predict some form of the bill will likely pass, but probably not in its current form.

"No one opposes the concept of national service," says an aide to the Republican minority on the House education subcommittee. "The problem is the amount of money he's proposing and the kind of expectations he's raising. The president has gone around promoting it as the answer to the problem of the high cost of college."

While young Americans are enthusiastic, the general public hasn't shown much excitement yet.

As long as people aren't calling their congressmen in droves urging support, "the president will have to make a hard sell," says another congressional aide.

NATIONAL SERVICE PLAN

- Legislation would allow about 100,000 young people to earn $5,000 per year for one or two years toward college tuition by performing community service.
- Participants must be at least 17 years old, and may perform service before, during, or after their college years.
- They will also receive a minimum-wage stipend for their living expenses (about $8,500 per year) and, for those needing it, health care and child care.
- Most programs will be organized locally and will select participants based on their own criteria.
- Programs will focus on education, human services, public safety, or the environment.

THE CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR®
An International Daily Newspaper
Founded in 1908 By Mary Baker Eddy

(ISSN 0882-7729) (ISSN 0896-551X World Edition) Published daily except Saturdays, Sundays, and holidays by The Christian Science Publishing Society, One Norway Street, Boston, MA, USA, 02115. An activity of The First Church of Christ, Scientist, in Boston, Massachusetts. Marcas Registradas.

Manager: Al M. Carnesciali
Chief Operating Officer/Print: Miles M. Harbur
Circulation Manager: Ronald G. Love
Advertising Sales: Nicholas Drinker
Advertising Production: Barbara Lasker

Editor: Richard J. Cattani
Deputy Editor: Ruth Walker
DEPARTMENTS: Page 1, Gregory M. Lamb; **World,** Jane A. Lampmann; **US,** Gail Russell Chaddock; **Economy,** David R. Francis; **Features,** Lawrence J. Goodrich; **Editorials,** Peter N. Spotts; **Graphics,** John Van Pelt; **Operations,** David Stormont; **Business Manager,** Olive F. Ratcliffe

Registered as a newspaper at the Post Office. Second-class postage paid at Boston, MA, and at additional mailing offices. Commission Paritaire No. (France): 3125 USA. Revenue Canada G.S.T. Registration Number 126916436.
SUBSCRIPTIONS: In the U.S. and Canada, call toll-free 1-800-456-2220 or write The Christian Science Monitor, P.O. Box 11202, Des Moines, IA 50340-1202. In the UK call 081-543-9393 or write The Christian Science Monitor, Monitor House, 20 Beulah Road, London SW19 3SU England.
Subscription Rates: Daily edition (US only) – 1 year $156, single copy 75¢. Daily edition (UK only) – 1 year $333.30 (£206.65), single copy 80 pence. Daily edition (outside US and UK) – 1 year US$175. World Edition (weekly, not available in the US) – 1 year US$75, single copy US$1.50.
ADVERTISING: Information 617-450-2652, fax 617-450-2654; production 617-450-2647.
MAILING LISTS: Our subscriber list is at times used by carefully screened companies and organizations. To avoid such mailings, please send a written request to the Des Moines address.
REPRINT PERMISSION: Copyright Adm., One Norway St., Boston, MA 02115 (1-800-288-7090, X2026).
POSTMASTER/ADDRESS CHANGES: Send to The Christian Science Monitor, P.O. Box 11202, Des Moines, IA, 50340-1202. Phone 1-800-456-2220. Second-class postage paid at Boston, MA, and at additional mailing offices. The Christian Science Monitor, Monitor House, 20 Beulah Road, London SW19 3SU England. Phone: 081-543-9393.

Big GOP Names Aim for the Grass Roots

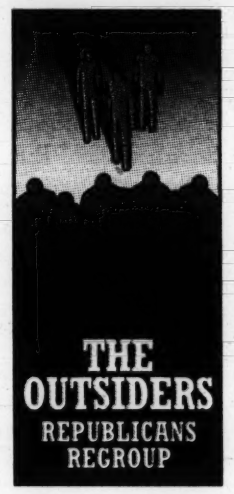
Empower America calls for less regulation, less taxation, less government, but it is hurt by perception it is a Kemp-for-president body

By Max Boot
Staff writer of The Christian Science Monitor

WASHINGTON

SETTING up a government-in-exile isn't easy. Just ask the folks at Empower America.

Launched just as the Clinton administration was taking office, Empower America is a conglomeration of leading Republicans, including Jack Kemp, William Bennett, and Jeane Kirkpatrick. Their goal is to rally ordinary Americans behind a conservative Republican alternative to the administration's policies. But even the basic logistics of the task are daunting.



Months after Empower America's start-up, for instance, the large metal display in the group's lobby still read: "1st Chicago – the First National Bank of Chicago." Underneath, there was a small, handwritten sign spelling out the name of the office's new tenant. The bank sign has come down recently, but, says spokesman Dan Cohen, "We're still not in full gear yet."

"We have just about all of our staff in here, but they're not in offices yet. Painting is going on," Mr. Cohen reports. "I'm in the conference room now with four to five colleagues and moving boxes. We're making do, coexisting. It's a campaign atmosphere."

No wonder Empower America has had trouble getting up to speed: It's sailing into uncharted waters. The closest parallel is the Democratic Leadership Council, set up in the 1980s by centrist Democratic officeholders, including a young Arkansas governor named Bill Clinton, to nudge their party rightward. Like the DLC, Empower America aims to combine practical politicking – holding meetings, raising money, staging press conferences – with theorizing about the best ways to solve America's problems.

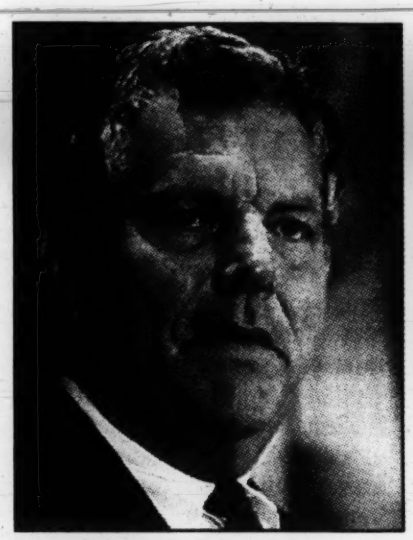
One big difference: The DLC was an unabashedly one-party organization, whereas Empower America's tax-exempt status allows it to get involved in issues-organizing but not in endorsing political candidates. "We're political, but not a Republican Party organ. Otherwise, we would be called the Republican Leadership Council," says former Rep. Vin Weber (R) of Minnesota, who is the group's president.

Sitting in a bare conference room, the balding and bespectacled Mr. Weber argues that the group has an important role to play. "Neither party does a good job of grass-roots organizing," Weber says. "But the Perot campaign showed that people want to get involved in nonpartisan, grass-roots organizations that concentrate on a broad range of issues."

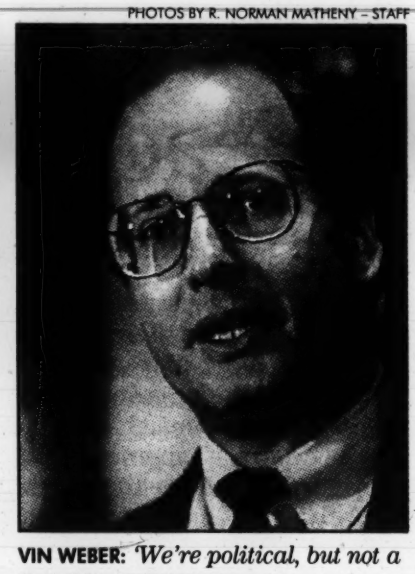
Thus, Empower America pitches itself as an alternative – right down to the similar name – to United We Stand America Inc., Ross Perot's grass-roots organ. It even has Orson Swindle, Mr. Perot's former spokesman, as a member. But one thing it lacks is the Texan's big bucks.

Empower America was set up with roughly $800,000 in seed money, much of it donated by such major contributors as investment banker Theodore Forstmann and publisher Steve Forbes. It hopes to raise a total of $4 million this year. The group has now launched a direct-mail appeal that will generate small individual donations and a long mailing list – a prerequisite for success in modern political organizing.

PHOTOS BY R. NORMAN MATHENY – STAFF



WILLIAM BENNETT: *'You cannot separate morality from polity.'*



VIN WEBER: *'We're political, but not a Republican Party organ.'*

But with the staff still moving into the new office, Empower America is just starting its work. Its principal activities so far have been a handful of poorly attended press conferences and the release of Mr. Bennett's "Index of Leading Cultural Indicators" – a survey he compiled showing that out-of-wedlock births, crime, and other social problems have shot up in the last 30 years.

This summer, Empower America plans to launch a series of one-day workshops around the country in which its leaders can get in touch with rank-and-file followers from the heartland. (The first one is tentatively scheduled for June 24 in Milwaukee.)

"Our effort," Weber says, "is aimed at articulating the central positions that unite conservatives in governing and opposition."

But although Empower America's leaders agree on its basic message – less regulation, less taxation, and less government – disagreements simmer just beneath the surface. The principal differences are between Mr. Kemp and Bennett over how strongly the group – and the Republican Party – should stress social issues.

Kemp, the supply-side evangelist, puts his emphasis on economic incentives, such as "enterprise zones," to help even the most-blighted inner cities. Bennett agrees that economics counts but only up to a point. He emphasizes that America's ills can only be cured with a big dose of traditional cultural values.

"Bennett and I are pals, but we have something of a disagreement," Kemp says tactfully.

Of course, the tensions between Bennett and Kemp are not entirely ideological. There is also a personal dimension – namely that both men see themselves as a presidential standard-bearer for the Republican Party. Kemp may be the clear front-runner now, but if he stumbles, Bennett could always come along to pick up support from conservatives.

Navigating the sometimes rocky shoals between Kemp and Bennett is Weber. "We have a strong appeal because of the three powerful names, but it also creates frictions," he concedes.

Weber's solution, at least for the time being, is to focus Empower America on issues that unite its three directors, such as welfare reform, school vouchers, and opposition to higher taxes. "This organization has made a decision not to take the lead on divisive issues, such as abortion, gun control, and school prayer," he says.

It's unclear, however, how long Empower America can keep straddling the fence on issues that Bennett considers to be of such vital importance. The other complication that may threaten the group's future is the widespread perception that Empower America is little more than a thinly disguised Kemp-for-president committee.

"As long as Jack remains tremendously popular, it'll be impossible for us to get rid of that image," Weber acknowledges. "But it's not our attempt to put together a front group for Jack Kemp. Our hope is that more than one Republican presidential candidate will go down the path we've charted."

'Shadow Government' Spurs Ethics Concerns

WASHINGTON

REPUBLICANS on Capitol Hill are all too used to being out of power. But during the 1980s, they also got used to working with a friendly administration to stymie the schemes of majority Democrats. Now for the first time in 12 years, congressional Republicans have to go it alone.

Sen. Bob Dole (R) of Kansas, the Senate minority leader, and Rep. Bob Michel (R) of Illinois, his counterpart in the House of Representatives, have responded to the situation by setting up a "shadow government" – but in the process they may have opened a hornet's nest of ethics questions.

In February, the Hill Republicans created 14 "issues groups," each led by a Reagan-Bush administration veteran and staffed with roughly a dozen policy experts drawn from think tanks, law offices, businesses, and interest groups.

Among other tasks, the groups have prepared questions that Republican senators have used in confirmation hearings for Clinton appointees and have analyzed the new president's plan for an energy tax.

Sheila Burke, Senator Dole's chief of staff, says the "shadow government" is necessary because, "When you don't have the administration behind you, you lose a lot of resources in terms of policy analysis and the development of legislation."

But the shadow government's launch has been marred by a shroud of secrecy that Republican leaders have cast around its operations. Both Dole's and Mr. Michel's offices have refused to release the names of the "issue group" members.

The lack of accountability by these semi-official advisers to GOP congressmen has fostered some conflict-of-interest concerns among ethics watchdogs.

"There is a potential for a conflict of interest," Ms. Burke concedes. However, she says, the potential is limited because the group members are "not responsible for drafting amendments" and because those on the Hill who work with the issues groups know which clients the group members represent.

But the case of one issues group whose leader has been disclosed by the publication Congress Daily suggests that the ethics problems may be very real. Robert Lighthizer, a former Dole staff member and deputy United States Trade Representative in the Reagan administration, heads the trade policy group.

He is also a partner at the Washington office of the giant law firm of Skadden, Arps, Slate, Meagher and Flom, where he represents domestic steel producers who have a stake in limiting competition by foreign competitors.

Mr. Lighthizer says that "something I'm involved in, I won't advise on at all." But he seems a little hazy about what his fellow group members are involved in. He says he does not know, for example, whether any of the trade group members are registered as lobbyists on behalf of foreign governments.

Lighthizer says the secrecy around the group's operations is not meant to hide conflicts of interest. Rather, he views the anonymity as a way to prevent publicity-seekers from participating in the "issue groups" only to advance their own careers.

"I don't want this to degenerate into people thinking they'll get benefits out of this," he says. "The function of this is not to promote yourself. You're promoting ideas and responding to members' questions."

– Max Boot

INTERNATIONAL

Russia Cautiously Commits To Balkan Peacekeeping

CORRINNE DUFKA/REUTERS

MUSLIM SOLDIER, JELINAK, BOSNIA: *Moscow has not endorsed US plans to lift arms embargo and allow Muslims to gain parity against Serb forces.*

By Daniel Sneider
Staff writer of The Christian Science Monitor

MOSCOW

RUSSIAN leaders told visiting US Secretary of State Warren Christopher yesterday that they are ready to join common efforts with the major Western European powers to settle the crisis in former Yugoslavia, including the participation of Russian troops in a large peacekeeping force.

But Moscow also made it clear that it is no more eager than London or Paris to lend support to United States plans to use military force should the Serb forces in Bosnia refuse to accept the United Nations peace plan devised by mediators Cyrus Vance and Lord David Owen.

Foreign Minister Andrei Kozyrev, speaking to reporters after talks with his US counterpart, emphasized that their aim was to "do everything to encourage the Bosnian Serbs to go the right way, that is to approve the Vance-Owen plan and to fulfill it together with the other parties."

The talks here arrived at a formula very similar to that reached in talks earlier this week with French and British governments – what Mr. Christopher described as a "two-track" approach. If the Bosnian Serbs agree to the peace plan, the Russians will commit "appropriate military forces" as part of a Western peacekeeping effort in which up to 70,000 ground troops would enforce a peace agreement. If they do not, new Russian-US talks will be held to discuss possible steps, including the use of force.

"A major peacekeeping UN operation is contemplated," Mr. Kozyrev explained. "We are determined to commit both our efforts and even our military to be sure that these agreements are properly monitored." Defense Minister Pavel Grachev participated in luncheon talks held after a morning meeting between Christopher and Russian President Boris Yeltsin.

"If, however, the Vance-Owen plan is not accepted and implemented, the United States and Russia will immediately resume their discussion on new and tougher measures," said a joint statement after the talks. "No measures are prejudged or excluded from consideration."

Sen. Sam Nunn (D) of Georgia, along with a delegation of US senators holding talks with their parliamentary counterparts, praised Russia for its readiness to act in close partnership with the US. The joint statement "is a strong signal ... that the international community is going to work together and going to stand firm," said Sen. Nunn, who chairs the Senate Armed Services Committee. He stressed the importance of the statement not ruling out the use of force.

Kozyrev carefully avoided questions about what specific "new and tougher" steps might be taken. He implied instead that the Russian side hopes the mere threat of force will be enough to bring the Serbs into line.

"In Christian tradition, be it Orthodox or Catholic or whatever, it is rare that hell is described in specific terms," Kozyrev said. "It is even more threatening and more meaningful when hell is used as something which will follow things."

CHRISTOPHER tried to put the best face on the apparent reluctance of the Russians – as well as other European allies – to give immediate backing to the use of military means.

"President Clinton's recommendations ... are very much on the table and will be considered if necessary ... and on an urgent basis," Christopher said, "if, against our hopes, the Vance-Owen plan is not approved."

The self-styled parliament of the Bosnian Serbs was set to discuss and vote on the plan yesterday. In his meeting with Christopher, President Yeltsin "expressed guarded optimism that the Bosnian Serb parliament, faced with the likelihood of bloodshed, would show wisdom and make a crucial decision," according to the account provided by Yeltsin's press secretary to the official Itar-Tass news agency.

Russian diplomats believe that the decision of the Bosnian Serb leadership, backed by Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic, to sign the Vance-Owen plan last week already has altered the situation there significantly.

Russian sympathy for Serbia is widespread, because of the extensive historical and cultural ties between the two peoples. But the Russian government has in recent days made clear that it will stand with the West in enforcing tough economic sanctions against the Serbian-dominated rump Yugoslav state as a means of putting pressure on the Serbs.

Russia abstained on the UN vote to impose such sanctions, but it has toughened its stance since Yeltsin's victory in an April 25 referendum on his rule.

China, S. Korea Cooperate to Ease N. Korea Nuclear Stand

By Sheila Tefft
Staff writer of The Christian Science Monitor

YANTAI, CHINA

THE death of his elder brother in the Korean War four decades ago is still an aching memory for Suk-young Jin.

But that hasn't stopped the Seoul businessman from joining an investment surge in this coastal Shandong port town, which is part of budding new economic and political ties between South Korea and China.

"The bad-feelings generation has almost disappeared," he said in an interview at his new Chinese factory, which makes quartz crystal components for electronics. "There are still cold war feelings between the South and the North. But, while China may stand for North Korea, China does not stand against South Korea either."

As Beijing and Seoul build an economic bridge across the Yellow Sea, the one-time adversaries also grope for new political links in Asia's shifting regional landscape.

For the first time, China and South Korea, which restored diplomatic relations last September, appear to be pursuing parallel paths in efforts to force North Korea to back down from its hard-line defiance over its nuclear program.

While the United States and other Western countries call for United Nations sanctions against Pyongyang for announcing in March that it would withdraw from the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty, Beijing and Seoul want a more measured approach: South Korea because it fears provoking a military strike by the isolated North, China because it risks angering the West by vetoing UN sanctions or bringing down communist North Korea economically if it abstains and sanctions proceed.

Following a meeting between Chinese and South Korean foreign ministers last month, the US and North Korea are reportedly planning talks in Beijing this week. Although US officials refuse to confirm the meeting, a Western diplomat said Wednesday that both the US and China want "to see the same outcome" and defuse the situation.

SHIRLEY HORN – STAFF

Still, even as the US and South Korea turn to China to intervene, Beijing's influence in Pyongyang is waning, diplomats say. Pyongyang's friendship with Moscow aggravated links with China, and China's embrace of market-style economic reforms, and moves toward the West have triggered new mistrust in North Korea. Recent reports indicate there have been firing incidents between troops along the North Korean and Chinese border.

South Korea is moving into this vacuum by exploiting the economic openings in China, especially in coastal areas such as Shandong Province. No longer held down politically, official trade is expected to jump from $8.2 billion in 1991 to almost $20 billion by 1995, Korean diplomats say.

In Shandong, only 100 miles by sea from South Korea, China's new-found economic partner is making its presence felt.

Four years ago, Beijing earmarked Shandong for a special indirect trade with Seoul, channeling commerce away from the province of Liaoning to avoid angering neighboring North Korea. In 1990, direct ferry service linked the Shandong and Korean peninsulas for the first time.

That is paying off in Yantai and its neighboring city of Weihai, where Korean restaurants are popping up and hotels are full of South Korean traders and investors drawn by cheap labor and tax incentives in China. In return, bureaus are opening up to send low-wage Chinese laborers to work in South Korean plants.

The South Korean carmaker Daewoo is exploring opening a major production plant in Yantai. South Korea's Pohang Iron and Steel Co. is helping build an $8 billion, 1,500-mile-long highway from Beijing to Hong Kong, running through Shandong.

"When I first came here in 1989 there was no official trade. I was satisfied with anything I could get," says Liang Jinhua, an ethnic Korean of Chinese nationality who owns a restaurant and a trading company in Weihai. "Now I'm looking for a joint venture partner."

Still, obstacles remain between two peoples, who have traditionally eyed each other with suspicion. Koreans worry that China will become too powerful economically and once again dominate their peninsula as happened frequently in the past.

For their part, many Chinese look down on Koreans whom they call *gaoli bangzi* or Korean yokel, a reference to the poverty of many North Korean émigrés.

"You have to understand the Chinese mind," says Chon-ho Kwon, a Korean businessman in Yantai. "When they grow too strong they can create a lot of trouble."

Fanned by a government intent on keeping power, ethnic strife has flared up, driving many to flee to a 'homeland' they have never seen

Thousands Are Displaced By Zaire's Ethnic Violence

By Scott Peterson
Special to The Christian Science Monitor

KOLWEZI, ZAIRE

TENS of thousands of people in Zaire's southeastern Shaba province have been forced from their homes by a rival ethnic group in what appears to be the renewal of a longstanding conflict sparked by politicians in the capital, Kinshasa.

The latest expulsions of Kasai by Katangans, sometimes called Africa's brand of "ethnic cleansing" by diplomats and observers here, could cause the eventual breakup of Zaire and allow President Mobutu Sese Seko – the dictator of 28 years believed to be behind the unrest – to declare a "convenient" state of emergency.

At least 1,000 Kasai were arriving here daily last month after the latest wave of attacks began in late March. Armed Katangans told the mostly Kasai workers at Gecamines, the national mining company, to leave immediately or face death. They burned 80 houses to underscore their threats. So far at least 11 people have been killed.

Conflict between Zaire's 250 ethnic groups has existed for millenia, but the colonization of the "Congo Free State" by King Leopold of Belgium around the turn of the century – and the subsequent shifts of workers between regions – created further tensions.

When Belgian companies came to Shaba (then called Katanga) to mine cobalt and diamonds, they recruited workers from the central Kasai region. Local Katangans, it was thought, were not capable of or interested in the hard mining work. Provided with top jobs, good schools, and better food, the Kasai eventually took control of Shaba's economy, gaining a reputation for their business acumen.

Evidence of 'cleansing'

Today, spurred on by tribe-based political events in the capital and fiery ethnocentric speeches, bands of young Katangans armed with stones and machetes are brutally forcing the Kasai out of Shaba.

At the rail station of the mining center of Kolwezi, rusting rail cars stand motionless, some of them packed with belongings, most empty and immovable. They watch over an unfolding human tragedy as tens of thousands of Kasai evicted from their homes chaotically pile up, waiting for a train to carry them back to the Kasai land of their ancestors.

The stench is strong, a mixture of human waste lining the tracks, piles of garbage burning with acrid smoke, oil and grease from the trains, and fresh blood as a cluster of young Kasai slaughter one of their dogs to eat.

The victims cling to their belongings, bitter that no one seems to know – or care – about their suffering. They live mostly under burlap and scrap metal shelters; others are packed into a vast trackside warehouse.

The streets of Kolwezi are crammed with carts loaded with lounge chairs, plush sofas, cabinets, and ovens, as Kasai search for a free space along the road where they can display their goods for sale in this impromptu outdoor bazaar. One man was so desperate to get on a rare train to Kasai that he sold his deep freezer for the equivalent of $14.

Relief workers have yet to set up permanently here, but they estimate that already some 150,000 Kasai have been forced from their homes in Kolwezi, Likasi, and nearby mining areas.

"They destroyed my house and sold everything after we left," said Tshibangu Lukalu, who was warned by his children that he was targeted by Uferi, the Katangan political party believed to be responsible for most of the expulsions and intimidation.

"Uferi said they would kill me if I stayed," he said.

Like so many other Kasai, Mr. Lukalu's family arrived in Shaba two or three generations ago, recruited by the Belgians to work in the mines. He does not speak the Kasai language or even know – except for the name of a village he has never seen – where his ancestry lies.

Uferi have created a "very explosive situation" in Shaba, says a Western diplomat in Kinshasa.

Government involvement

There are indications here that the actions of the Uferi, led by Katangan politician Mgaz Karl I Bond, are supported by President Mobutu's government. Official government vehicles have been used to carry Uferi militants and gasoline to burn houses from town to town.

SHIRLEY HORN – STAFF

Just days after the new Kolwezi attacks began, government-controlled television reported that since Katangans had taken over the mines from the Kasai, "production has doubled." The dispatch concluded: "Bravo, Katangan workers!"

According to Raphael Bokassa, a Kasai teacher who now lives in the camp that straddles the Likasi train station, the solution to the problem lies in Kinshasa: "Mobutu wants the problem. He knows that we don't support him, and he wants the dictatorship to continue."

In Likasi, where relief agencies have helped the Kasai since the first wave of expulsions in October, 23 percent of the children near the railroad station are malnourished. Of the 40,000 to 50,000 people waiting for a train, two or three die each day from disease and starvation, down from 60 per day last year. Trains that do leave are so crammed full that passengers have died of asphyxiation, but very few trains have come recently.

"The Katangans honestly believe that the second they get rid of Kasai, all their troubles will be over," says a missionary in Kolwezi who knows both communities well. "No one knows where it will end."

Mobutu's Intransigence Frustrates Zaire Reformers

By John Battersby
Staff writer of The Christian Science Monitor

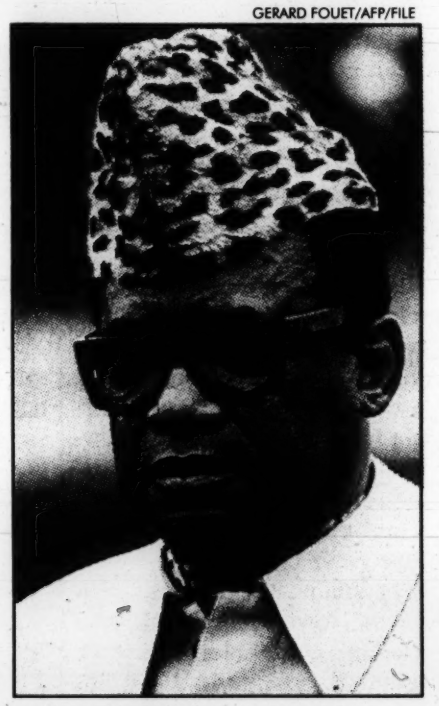
KINSHASA, ZAIRE

CONCERNS are mounting in African and Western capitals that Zaire's steady descent into political and economic anarchy could lead to widespread ethnic conflict and the eventual disintegration of the massive central African state.

"The country now has two governments, two legislative authorities, two currencies, and two armies," says an exasperated Western diplomat here. "But there is still disagreement as how best to force President Mobutu Sese Seko to relinquish power because of widespread fears that what comes after him will be worse even than the status quo."

The streets of this crowded capital bear witness to a turbulent two years during which looting by forces loyal to Mr. Mobutu has destroyed much of the city's commercial and industrial activity and struck fear into the population. Corruption and protection rackets are commonplace. Soldiers frequently pillage homes and raid opposition newspapers. Bodies riddled with bullets lie in the streets.

GERARD FOUET/AFP/FILE



MOBUTU SESE SEKO: *He rules Zaire through political patronage, repression, and a policy of divide-and-rule.*

The United States and France recognize the government of interim Prime Minister Étienne Tshisekedi as the legitimate authority. But Mobutu, the country's dictatorial head of state for the past 28 years, continues to rule by retaining the loyalty of the the 20,000-strong Special Presidential Division (DSP) and practicing his brand of political patronage, brutal repression, and a policy of divide-and-rule along ethnic lines.

The crisis has deepened since Mobutu installed a new government April 3 in defiance of the High Council of the Republic (HCR), the transitional parliament established last year.

The newly imposed government of Prime Minister Faustin Birindwa, a former economic adviser to Mobutu and until recently the treasurer of Mr. Tshisekedi's Union for Democracy and Social Progress, has won little domestic or international support. But Mobutu has used it to give decisions by his regime a broader legitimacy and a veneer of democracy. Despite stating his commitment to multiparty democracy in April 1990, Mobutu has repeatedly frustrated the HCR's efforts.

"Mobutu is playing for time because he knows he is going to fail in the end," Tshisekedi told the Monitor in his well-guarded house in a Kinshasa suburb. "We are looking very carefully at a way to neutralize Mobutu without sparking a war."

Tshisekedi insists that the majority of Zairean troops are in favor of reform and democracy and that the DSP alone is loyal to the president. But requests for foreign military aid to train the regular Army – which opposition leaders say could beat Mobutu and the DSP – have been refused.

Still, Western countries are coming under increasing pressure to impose economic sanctions on the country and freeze – or even seize – Mobutu's assets abroad, estimated at hundreds of millions of dollars. The new conservative government in France has refused Mobutu a visa, and he is no longer welcome in the US.

Tshisekedi, who narrowly escaped an attempt on his life on March 28 when troops of the DSP stormed his house, is adamant that he represents the legitimate government and that it is only a matter of time before Mobutu falls. Mobutu, whose term of office expired last December, has responded to efforts by the HCR to remove him by declaring the body illegal and reconstituting the old National Assembly to elect the new Birindwa government.

Prisons of Free Eritrea Still Cage 'Collaborators'

Officials say they lack judicial institutions needed to try suspects

By Robert M. Press
Staff writer of The Christian Science Monitor

ASMARA, ERITREA

BETTY PRESS

ISAIAS AFEWERKI: *Eritrea's leader says a group of Eritrean officials suspended from their jobs had 'ossified attitudes.' With independence in hand, human rights and democratization in Eritrea will get closer scrutiny.*

IN Sembel Prison here in the capital of Eritrea, their cells are large rooms lined with dozens of sleeping mats a few inches apart on the floor. Their exercise areas are small dirt courtyards behind tall barbed wire fences.

Some prisoners say they have not seen their families for two years or had a visit from any outsider except an American diplomat and this reporter. "I don't know why I'm here," one detainee says during a tour granted only reluctantly by prison officials.

As Eritrea prepares for formal independence May 24, after 30 years of war against Ethiopia, the human rights record of the new government is likely to come under increased scrutiny.

Already there are signs that dissent – in the form of a free press or academic criticism, for example – may not be welcome by the new government. Nor has Eritrea's head of state, Isaias Afewerki, offered a detailed explanation of why Eritrea will be kept under military rule for possibly five years or more.

His vagueness recalls Ugandan President Yoweri Museveni, who has talked about elections ever since seizing power in 1986 but has yet to face the ballot box.

During their rule here, Ethiopians killed and tortured many Eritreans suspected of working against their government, residents say. People lived "fully in fear – day and night," says Sister Veronica, of the Comboni Missionary Sisters here.

But soon after their triumphant entry into Asmara in May 1991, rebels of the Eritrean People's Liberation Front (EPLF) rounded up thousands of civilians suspected of collaborating with the Ethiopian government.

An official with Eritrea's Department of Internal Affairs says some 12,000 cases of suspected collaborators have been reviewed and most have been released.

The detainees still locked up are suspected "hardened criminals – real killers," the official said. Documents found in abandoned government offices here and in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia's capital, provide evidence of their guilt, the official adds.

A WESTERN diplomat says there are probably about 275 people still being detained by the EPLF for alleged human rights abuses.

Eritrean officials asked why, after two years, these detainees have not been brought to trial, say the prisoners will not be tried until a constitution is drafted and adopted by a yet-unformed Eritrean national assembly. EPLF Secretary-General Afewerki says it may be two years before a national assembly is elected.

"Tell him, tell him," several detainees urged others who were gathering in their courtyard, the gate of which was open to the rest of the small prison's grounds.

"I'm not a party member," said one of the detainees, referring to the Ethiopian Worker's Party of the previous Ethiopian government. "I'm here for unknown reasons."

Another detainee said this is the prison's "political" block. A third claimed: "I'm a trader. I had my own car. My car was handed over to the government [of Eritrea]."

The Western diplomat says detainees are allowed to see their families once a week, but some detainees refuted that claim.

Another group of as many as several hundred suspected collaborators, mostly people working in Eritrea's new government, were temporarily suspended from their jobs recently and have been assigned to community service jobs without pay.

They are being "punished" for working too closely with the Ethiopians, says another senior Eritrean official. But the punishment is not very severe, he says.

Some are working in offices; some are doing conservation work in forests, which, he claims, they enjoy.

They needed this work because they have "ossified [political] attitudes," Afewerki says. In other words, they disagree with the EPLF's government policies.

There are other, less obvious signs that dissent may not be welcome.

Two years after the EPLF took power, there still are no private newspapers or magazines, except for a couple of church publications. By contrast, there are dozens in Ethiopia, also a poor country, where another rebel group took charge two years ago.

MONITOR THE WORLD FOR 35¢ A DAY.

☐ 3-month introductory offer.....$21.97
☐ 6-month introductory offer.....$41.97

☐ Check/money order enclosed. ☐ Bill me, please.

Name (Please Print) _____
Address _____
City _____
State _____ ZIP _____

Offer available only in the U.S.A.

- DAILY EDITION ONLY -
- NEW ORDERS ONLY -
MAIL TO:
THE CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR
P.O. Box 10116, Des Moines
IA 50340-0116 U.S.A.
OR CALL TOLL-FREE:
1-800-456-2220

MH38011

Bankers Prepare For Another Round In Deregulation Fight

By Mark Trumbull
Staff writer of The Christian Science Monitor

BOSTON

THE banking industry has lowered its expectations from Washington this year. Leaving behind dreams of broad new powers, bankers are focusing for now on easing regulatory burdens.

The banking industry has gotten "cranked up to argue it is grossly overregulated," says Robert Carlile, a Chicago banker who visited Boston recently representing the American Bankers Association.

The industry shifted its strategy after a bitter defeat in 1991. The Bush administration failed to pass legislation freeing banks to set up branches across state boundaries and to enter new lines of business such as securities. Instead of expanding bank powers, Congress expanded regulatory controls in an effort to prevent a savings-and-loan style wave of bank failures.

Bruised by this reversal, the industry retreated to set its sights on "what's possible," says Robert Litan, a Brookings Institution scholar.

The bankers' new agenda fits with President Clinton's desire to revive economic growth. In March the president moved to ease several regulations so banks can lend more. Mr. Carlile, applauding these steps, says the White House is planning further moves.

"I'm not talking about ending bank exams or ending audits," Carlile says. But "let's get rid of the frivolous stuff."

Mr. Litan says he expects such steps will modestly expand the credit supply for the nation's small businesses. But he says it is unlikely that Congress will roll back its 1991 regulations.

'On my mind constantly'

The industry estimates that even before those new rules it was spending almost $11 billion a year to comply with regulations. Compliance "is something that's on my mind constantly," Carlile says. He is chief executive officer of NBD Bank. These "burdens" raise the cost of capital to customers, he says.

"The thing that really drove the banks craziest," Litan says, has been the Truth in Savings Act, which takes effect at the end of this year. The act requires banks to disclose in a uniform manner all fees and charges for deposit accounts. Litan says this treats banks more strictly than mutual fund companies.

Carlile says his bank will have to spend a lot of money this fall on video courses for this employees to prepare them to implement the act. "I'm not sure that the consumer particularly cares or will be particularly well served" by the rule, he adds.

Beyond the regulations themselves, the enforcement style of bank examiners has long been a source of anguish for bankers.

"My impression is that regulators have gone way overboard" in the last few years, says Steven Felgran, a finance professor at Northeastern University in Boston. For two years examiners have received conflicting directions from politicians: to "lighten up" so banks can lend more but also to ensure that banks don't fail. Amid fears of an S&L-style banking crisis, the latter goal won.

Industry in need of larger overhaul?

James Howell, president of a Boston consulting firm that bears his name, says the concern with burdensome regulation distracts people from more important issues: The industry has too many banks, is struggling to compete with unregulated nonbanks, and is in danger of slow collapse, he says.

"We need a president with the boldness" to map out a five- to seven-year plan to encourage banks to merge or close, cutting their number from the current 12,000 to 5,000, Mr. Howell suggests. This, coupled with giving large banks new powers such as the ability to hold equity as well as debt in companies, would strengthen both the industry and America's economy, he says.

Howell notes that the nation's banks as a group have more money invested in government debt than in loans, which he describes as "unconscionable." The nation's second-largest provider of credit, General Electric Capital, is a nonbank, he adds.

ECONOMY

Polaroid Waits for Research Payoff

By S. C. Llewelyn Leach
Staff writer of The Christian Science Monitor

NEWTON, MASS.

POLAROID'S own picture is looking a bit unfocused. The company's trademark instant snapshot business has matured and film sales have slumped for a second consecutive year.

Polaroid, based in Cambridge, Mass., is banking on two new products to put it on the road to recovery: a compact instant camera and a sophisticated laser imager for medical diagnostics.

Over the past five years the company has plowed more than $100 million into developing these products and new markets, executives say. Over the long term, the company plans to diversify from its core photographic business.

With Polaroid stock selling at less than two-thirds its 1988 high and revenues inching upward, the company hopes to start seeing a return on its research and development costs by mid-summer. Cutting 455 workers this year should help financial results.

At present, 95 percent of Polaroid's business is photography, says Sam Yanes, director of corporate communications. In the next decade that will change to "not much more than 50 percent."

Polaroid sees its future strength in digital imaging, a process of electronically producing, transferring, and manipulating images. Digital imaging is used in fields as diverse as desktop publishing, medical diagnostics, and graphic arts.

Mr. Yanes predicts that while the photography business will probably not exceed 3 percent annual growth, imaging has the potential of 9 or 10 percent. Polaroid's strategy is to use the profits from its photographic base to invest in these faster-developing areas, Yanes says.

Expanding product line

Until the company gets a firm foothold in the digital imaging market, where competition from computer and electronics companies is fierce, its hopes are pinned on the two new products.

Visions – a compact instant camera, with a picture-storage slot in the back – is targeted at active, affluent consumers who have not used instant photography before.

Launched in Europe last September, demand for Visions has already outstripped supply, he says. In mid-March it was introduced in Japan. Despite being the company's largest market after Germany and the US, Japanese consumers have not always embraced Polaroid cameras. "Part of that was cultural, but part was that we didn't have a product that appealed to them," Yanes says. But Polaroid is sufficiently confident this time that it has rolled out a nationwide advertising campaign – the first in five years. The camera is being introduced domestically this summer.

While profit margins on camera sales are low or even nil, Polaroid makes good profits on its film sales, which it hopes will be spurred by Visions. Last year it sold about 4 million cameras.

Dry developing process

The new Helios Dry Imaging System – for medical diagnostics – produces high resolution radiographic films in about 90 seconds using a digital laser. It avoids the wet-process developing and time lag associated with conventional film. First deliveries of Helios went out last month. At $50,000 a piece, Helios sales should reach $50 million this year, Prudential Securities forecasts, rising to $120 million in 1994.

Leonard Aberbach, president of the medical imaging division emphasizes the imager's broader applications. Polaroid hopes to adapt the technology platform in about a year to such areas as graphic arts. Beyond speed and convenience, Helios dry imaging provides an environment free of hazardous chemicals.

Other growth areas for Polaroid include what it calls the document business: instant photos for passports, driver's licenses, company ID cards, and national identity cards among others.

One of its biggest contracts came last year when the company beat the competition to produce 40 million voter-registration cards for Mexico in time for the 1994 national elections.

Improved first quarter earnings reflected in part the $30 million sale of registration equipment to Mexico, according to Prudential Securities. Polaroid also has ID-card contracts with Angola and Indonesia.

US market potential

But these are small compared to the potentially huge photo-ID credit card market at home. Credit card issuers in the United States, hit hard by fraud, are looking to photo IDs to staunch their losses. Citibank started test marketing photo-ID cards in April and has enlisted Polaroid to supply equipment and film when it rolls out the program for its 31 million cardholders. Other banks will likely follow since research shows that fraud drops 67 percent with photo IDs.

Although many of Polaroid's projects are just getting moving, analysts are generally optimistic about the company's long-term outlook. B. Alex Henderson of Prudential Securities is even bullish. But he says "fasten your seatbelt for the next few quarters."

ROBERT HARBISON – STAFF

HELIOS IN ACTION: *Anthony DiDonato, technical manager for quality, pulls up the lid on Polaroid's newest and most distinctive product. An adapted dry imager could help transform desktop publishing and graphic arts.*

New Process Dispenses With the Chemicals

NEWTON, MASS.

LITTLE larger than a standard photocopier, the Helios Laser Imaging System looks disarmingly simple – an off-white box with a few vents and an out-tray attached to one end.

But inside the imager is $50,000-worth of fine-tuned electronics which produces strikingly sharp black and white transparencies in 90 seconds when hooked up to an ultrasound scanner or other medical diagnostic system.

Using a combination of laser beam and carbon-based film, Helios turns out dry images that can be duplicated or put in positive or negative form at the flick of a switch. No need for darkrooms, chemicals, or lengthy developing.

As state governments and the Environmental Protection Agency become more stringent about hazardous waste, imagers like Helios will grow in demand, suggests Leonard Aberbach, president of Polaroid's Medical Imaging Systems. Even the negative is reclaimed and recycled.

After seven years of research and development, the first Helios systems were shipped last month. "We've never taken on an activity of this sophistication in software capability," Dr. Aberbach explains. But the technology has broad applications beyond medical ones and should boost prospects for Polaroid, he says.

– S. C. L. L.

NYC: WORLD'S ADVERTISING CAPITAL – AGAIN

NEW YORK

■ In 1992, New York City reclaimed the title of the advertising capital of the world with $25.8 billion in billings, according to Advertising Age magazine.

Billings at the city's 147 ad agencies grew fast enough to erase Tokyo's $120 million advantage over New York in 1991. The top 500 United States agencies saw their gross incomes rise 6.8 percent.

Despite income growth, employment at US multinational ad firms dropped 1.6 percent.

CORPORATE VOLUNTEERISM GOOD FOR FIRMS

NEW YORK

■ A study of corporate volunteer programs has found that they provide companies with competitive advantages, the Conference Board reports.

More than three-quarters of firms surveyed reported that volunteer programs benefited the company's strategic goals and improved employee retention. About 90 percent found that the programs build teamwork skills, improve morale, and attract better employees.

MARKET SHARE UP FOR US MACHINE TOOL SECTOR

NEW YORK AND BONN

■ The total output of machine tools worldwide dropped by $8 billion in 1992 to $34.6 billion, according to an annual American Machinist survey.

The 19 percent decline overall compares with a 4 percent drop in North America. The US improved its share of the world market.

Japan, Germany, and the Commonwealth of Independent States experienced the most dramatic reductions in output.

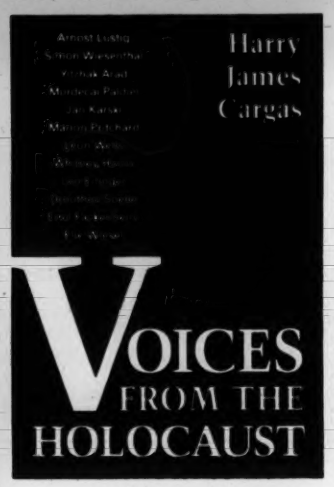
SPACE LAUNCHES ARE EASIER AND LESS EXPENSIVE

FAIRFAX, VA.

■ University research scientists and space engineers will now have a less expensive way to conduct small, space-based science missions. Orbital Sciences Corporation, a manufacturer of space products and services, has said it will offer an inexpensive into-orbit service called the Microlab Orbital Experiments Service.

Microlab will use ultra-light, low-cost satellites and instrument technology to provide data as well as research and training opportunities. The service intends to provide a space-based "data stream" to experimenters for less than $10 million for each mission.

UNIVERSIT



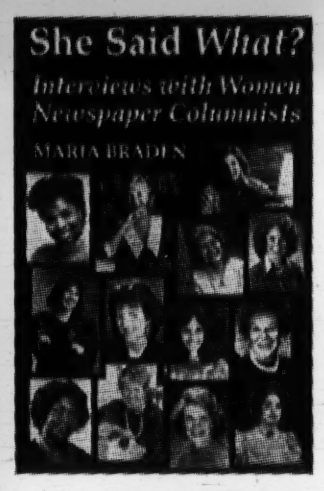
VOICES FROM THE HOLOCAUST

"A new sense of insight into the Holocaust. A very readable, current book"
—*Library Journal.*

Intimate interviews with Elie Wiesel, Simon Wiesenthal, Arnost Lustig, Leon Wells, and others. Anyone wishing to plumb the mystery of the Holocaust could do no better than to begin with this deeply moving book. ISBN 0-8131-1802-6 **$24.00**

Major credit card orders, please call 606-257-5200. Send mail orders to:
The University Press of Kentucky, 663 South Limestone Street, Lexington, KY 40508-4008.

THE UNIVERSITY PRESS OF KENTUCKY



SHE SAID *WHAT?*

Interviews with Women Newspaper Columnists

MARIA BRADEN

"An entertaining look at changes in journalism"—**Gloria Steinem**. "These women are brisk and pointed in their observations, eschewing rhetoric about their difficulties as women journalists. As informative as it is lively"—***Publishers Weekly***. "A wonderful, inspiring book"—**Helen Thomas**. ISBN 0-8131-1819-0 **$24.00**

Major credit card orders, please call 606-257-5200. Send mail orders to:
The University Press of Kentucky, 663 South Limestone Street, Lexington, KY 40508-4008.

THE UNIVERSITY PRESS OF KENTUCKY

Old Order Amish

Their Enduring Way of Life

Photographs by Lucian Niemeyer Text by Donald B. Kraybill

Extraordinary color photographs and an authoritative text capture not only the familiar beauty and charm of Amish life but also its richness and complexity. Here at last is an authentic portrait of the Amish—in striking photographs and honest accounts of their daily concerns and enduring traditions.

$35.95. To order, call 1-800-537-5487.

The Johns Hopkins University Press
Hampden Station
Baltimore, MD 21211

A TWENTIETH CENTURY FUND BOOK

ELIZABETH POND

Beyond the Wall

Germany's Road to Unification

The first book, in either English or German, to tell the *whole story* of the extraordinary revolution in Germany.

Elizabeth Pond, former Moscow and European correspondent for *The Christian Science Monitor,* offers eyewitness accounts to the dramatic events of 1989-1992 and to the fifteen years of relations between Germany and Eastern Europe leading up to them. She also looks at the present and future roles of the U.S. and a united Germany in the new Europe.

cloth $28.95

BROOKINGS
Washington, DC
1-800-275-1447 or (202) 797-6258

City Boys

Cagney, Bogart, Garfield

Robert Sklar

"It's clear from the first page that Sklar is that rarity, a cinema scholar who's also a movie fan. . . . Equally important, Sklar recognizes that nuances of acting can serve as indicators—often highly revealing—of social, cultural, and political realities. . . . [a] meticulously researched and marvelously readable book. . . ."
The Christian Science Monitor

40 illustrations.
Cloth: $27.50 ISBN 0-691-04795-2

Princeton University Press

41 WILLIAM ST., PRINCETON, NJ 08540 • ORDERS: 800-777-4726 • OR FROM YOUR LOCAL BOOKSTORE

The Association of American University Presses has for over 50 years worked to encourage the dissemination of scholarly research and ideas. Today the 109 members of the AAUP annually publish nearly 8,000 books and more than 500 periodicals.

Please contact the participants on this page for the advertised titles or a complete list of their literary offerings.

Look for ***The Christian Science Monitor's*** next University Presses reading guide this September.

TY PRESSES

Surrational Images

Photomontages

SCOTT MUTTER

Foreword by Martin Krause

Mutter's striking images adorn the walls of homes and businesses nationwide. Now thirty-five of them are collected in this generously sized edition that will thrill aficionados and entice those unacquainted with his work. "Mutter's work is extraordinary and categorically unique." – Saul Bass.

96 pages. 9 x 12 inches. 35 duotones. Cloth, $27.50

Available at bookstores or phone 1-800-545-4703

University of Illinois Press • 54 E. Gregory Drive • Champaign, IL 61820

The Gnat Is Older than Man Global Environment and Human Agenda

THE GNAT IS OLDER THAN MAN

Global Environment and Human Agenda

Christopher D. Stone

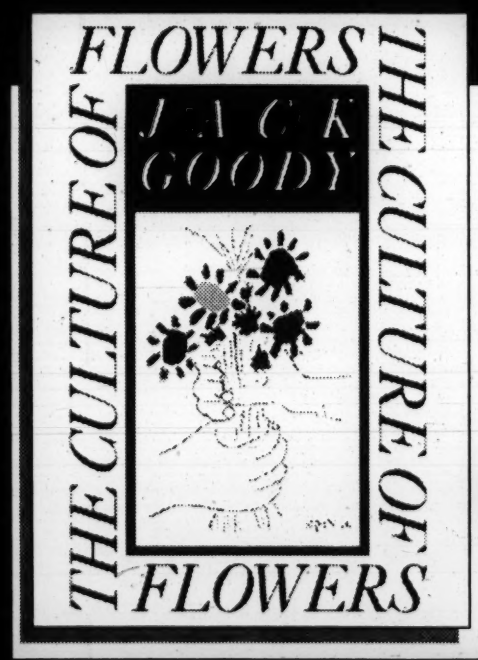
"Christopher Stone has the rare ability to blend idealism and realism. Like such classics as *Silent Spring* and *A Sand County Almanac*, his book has the power to revolutionize the way we think about protecting the global environment."
—Durwood Zaelke, President, Center for International Environmental Law

". . . should be read by everyone concerned with the future of our planet."
—John H. Chaffee, U.S. Senator

Cloth: $21.95 ISBN 0-691-03250-5

Princeton University Press

ORDERS: 800-777-4726 • OR FROM YOUR LOCAL BOOKSTORE



The Culture of Flowers

Jack Goody

The Culture of Flowers spans a variety of disciplines and four millennia of human civilization to look at the symbolic and commercial uses of flowers in secular life and religious ritual throughout the world, from France to California to China.

42484-4 Paper $18.95

Available in bookstores or from

CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY PRESS

40 West 20th Street
New York, NY 10011-4211
Call toll-free 800-872-7423.
MasterCard/VISA accepted.

VLADIMIR NABOKOV

The Russian Years

Brian Boyd

"... a definitive life of the man and a superbly documented chronicle of his time."
—*The New York Times Book Review*

Now in paper: $15.95 ISBN 0-691-02470-7

VLADIMIR NABOKOV

The American Years

Brian Boyd

"Nabokov has found at last a biographer worthy of him."
—*The New York Times Book Review*

Now in paper: $16.95 ISBN 0-691-02471-5

Princeton University Press

ORDERS: 800-777-4726 • OR FROM YOUR LOCAL BOOKSTORE

COLUMBIA PICTURES

Portrait of a Studio

BERNARD F. DICK, Editor. "For anyone seeking a frank, readable history of the movie business, this 'Portrait of a Studio' sheds light on one part of a frenzied, fractious industry"—***New York Times Book Review.*** ISBN 0-8131-1769-0 **$30.00**

SIDNEY LUMET

Film and Literary Vision

FRANK R. CUNNINGHAM. "A pioneering study. . . . A fine place to begin the appreciation of our generation's most prolific major filmmaker"—***Film Quarterly.*** ISBN 0-8131-1745-3 **$35.00**

Major credit card orders, please call 606-257-5200. Send mail orders to:
The University Press of Kentucky, 663 South Limestone Street, Lexington, KY 40508-4008.

THE UNIVERSITY PRESS OF KENTUCKY

Now in paperback

TO EVERY THING A SEASON

Shibe Park and Urban Philadelphia, 1909-1976

Bruce Kuklick

"One of the most important baseball books in recent years."
—*Washington Post*

"[Kuklick] shows what a ballpark can mean to a neighborhood. . . ."
—*Sports Illustrated*

Now in paper: $9.95 ISBN 0-691-02104-X

Princeton University Press

ORDERS: 800-777-4726 • OR FROM YOUR LOCAL BOOKSTORE

FOOD

Basic Information Tools for the Kitchen

A video and a book arm the timid with practical tips, many from celebrated chefs at restaurants across the country

By Phyllis Hanes
Special to The Christian Science Monitor
BOSTON

EVERY year, cookbook publishers churn out volumes of information for home cooks and aspiring chefs.

A few of the best of these – "Mastering The Art of French Cooking," by Julia Child, "The Joy of Cooking," by Marion R. Becker and Irma S. Rombauer and "The Silver Palate," by Julee Rosso and Sheila Lukins – describe valuable cooking techniques and help people to overcome intimidation in the kitchen.

But, there are still questions the books don't answer, such as: "When can you leave out the salt? or "How do you fix the flavor when it just isn't there?" and "Why is it that two people can follow the same recipe and one dish comes out great and the other only so-so?

Restaurant owner and chef Jasper White ("Jasper's") and TV anchorwoman Natalie Jacobson, both Bostonians, aim to answer such queries in their two-volume video: "Natalie's Kitchen with Jasper White: What Your Cookbook Doesn't Tell You." (Dawn Productions, 1992, Volume I is 106 mins. and Volume II 126 mins.)

A television reporter who coanchors the evening news on WCVB-TV and is reportedly an excellent cook, Ms. Jacobson puts the questions to Jasper. "Why are you crushing the tomatoes?" she asks as they make marinara sauce.

With a video, techniques are demonstrated before the viewer's eyes.

"When a cooking video is really good, it can explain by showing, and you learn much you cannot find in a cookbook," Mr. White says. "I see video as a future for cooking."

The video, more of an encyclopedia of cooking techniques than a cooking show, was taped in Jacobson's kitchen using her own pots and pans.

It demonstrates, for example, how to shuck oysters, de-vein shrimp, and fillet fish.

Volume II takes you to market as only video can. One may read about selecting ripe fruit or looking at fish, but seeing the processes up close with someone emphasizing key points locks the image in mind.

The video also provides directions for keeping a sauce from curdling, testing for doneness, and when to add herbs.

All that's missing is recipes.

But, "Natalie's Kitchen" sticks to the basics. "Julia Child uses techniques to demonstrate particular dishes. We use the dishes to demonstrate the technique," White explains. "This is a basic cooking lesson for those who don't know how to cook."

"But it is also for people who need to cook every night and want to pick up better techniques and quicker methods," Jacobson says.

Thanks to time-coding on the video box, viewers can quickly find answers to puzzling techniques by simply rewinding or fast-forwarding the tape.

The video not only captures images but also many sounds one can't get from a cookbook, such as the sizzle of a few drops of oil as it dribbles around a wok, the bubbling of boiling water, and the punching of bread dough after it has risen.

Pointers in print

It's not often one comes across a directory of cooking secrets divulged by some of this country's most famous chefs.

"Trucs of the Trade, 101 Tricks, Tips, and Recipes from America's Greatest Chefs," by Frank Ball and Arlene Feltman (HarperPerennial, $15 paper, 1992), does just that.

The French noun *truc* (pronounced "trook") is "a trick, gimmick, or shortcut used in cooking," Ms. Feltman explains. "It's finding a way of doing something easier, cheaper, or just better."

The trucs, from 49 chefs, range from hints for seeding chilies, cutting vegetables into fan shapes, and using dental floss to cut cheesecake to handy gimmicks, such as Emeril Lagasse's New Orleans-style technique for steaming and cooking fish wrapped in paper.

A truc can also be a simple explanation of a classic technique – a procedure that produces a more finished result.

Chef Andre Soltner of New York's Lutece restaurant offers a suggestion for making sure omelets don't stick to the pan: "Pour some kosher salt into the skillet and rub vigorously with a kitchen towel over the side and bottom of the pan. The abrasiveness of the salt will put a fine polish on the skillet. Discard the salt and proceed with the recipe."

Omelet-making is a telltale sign of a one's skill, Mr. Soltner says. "In France when a young chef shows up looking for work, they ask him to make an omelet.

"And properly so. There's so much technique involved that if a chef makes a perfect omelet – you know, you just know, that chef's been well trained."

Other trucs give directions for how to diminish the odor of boiling cauliflower by using bread chunks; how to make soft authentic tortillas by putting them in a plastic bag and microwaving them for 30 seconds; and how to soften tough meat in a stew by adding some wine corks.

The experts with the answers include such chefs as David Bouley, Craig Claiborne, Lydia Shire, Lidia Bastianich, Jacques Pepin, Giuliano Bugialli, Mary Sue Milliken **(see recipe, left)**, Jim Dodge, David Burke, and many others.

Mr. Bugialli shares his secret for keep potatoes intact, not mushy, when boiling them:

"Fill a pot with 2 parts water and 1 part vinegar. Add a dash of kosher salt and bring to a boil. Add potatoes, already trimmed or peeled, and gently boil them until cooked.

David Burke shares an inventive idea for "crispy arched potato wafers," one of his signature garnishes: Soak thin potato slices in oil or butter and bake them with herbs on his copper cookware device: a copper pipe.

Felipe Rojas-Lombardi suggests that the flavor of the herb is in the stems as well as the leaves. Stems can be used in soups, stocks, and long-simmered sauces.

Fava beans from one's summer garden will make it to the table more speedily after learning Daniel Boulud's trick of snapping the large beans from the strange, lumpy-looking pods.

Many people pass up the rich, smooth taste of these beans because they don't know how to peel them.

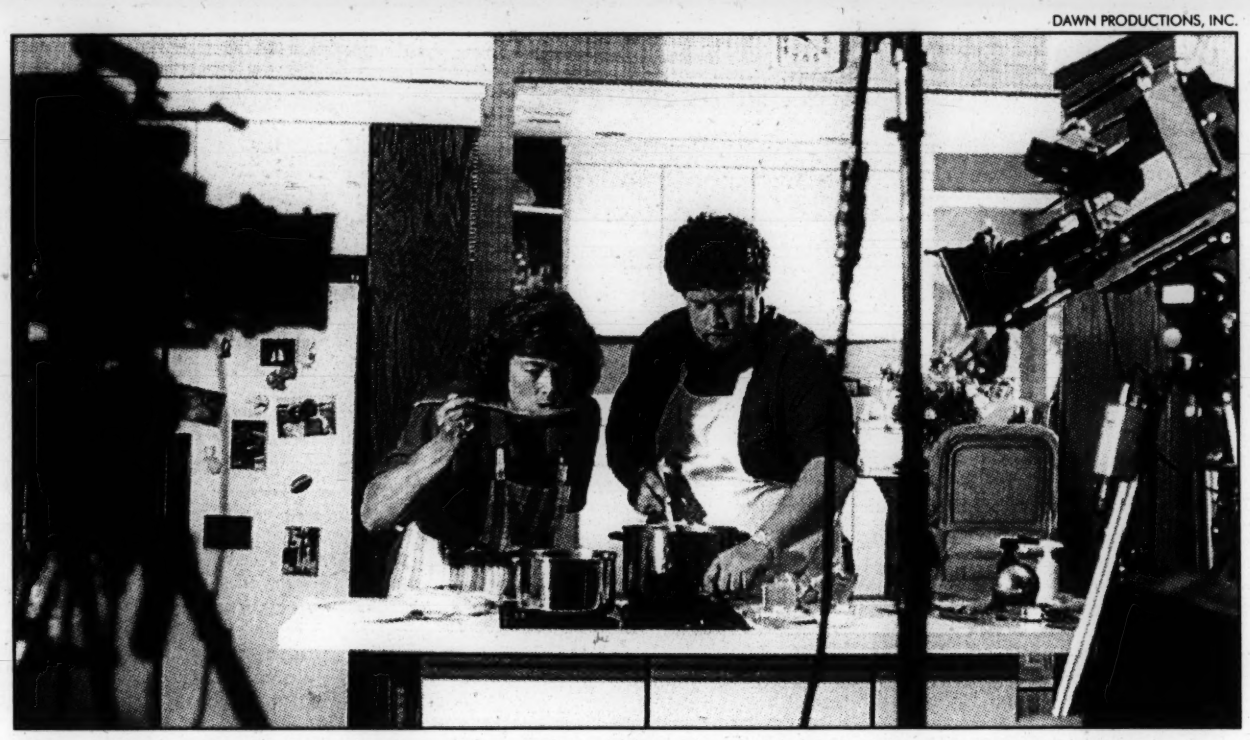
Chef Judy Rogers reveals her truc on cooking dried beans: "For soft and creamy beans, cook with the lid on." When problems arise with beans, it's usually related to their age, she says.

"Homemade mayonnaise, that delightful blend of egg yolks, oil, and seasonings is a special pleasure, better by far than store-bought. But homemade mayo has an undeserved reputation for being difficult.

Here is Andre Soltner's wonderfully simple "truc" for rebinding "broken" (when it loses its texture and turns thin and soupy) mayonnaise, whatever the cause:

"When mayonnaise breaks, take a clean bowl and add a couple of tablespoons of warm (not boiling) water. Very slowly pour the broken mayonnaise into the second bowl, whisking to incorporate the water. The mayonnaise will immediately re-emulsify, thicken up ... and be fixed."

DAWN PRODUCTIONS, INC.



LIGHTS, CAMERA – TASTE!: *Natalie Jacobson (l.) and Jasper White (r.) taping their video in her kitchen. The two-volume set is more of an encyclopedia of cooking than a cooking show.*

CARROT SOUP WITH DILL

"This simple but sophisticated soup is terrific with full-flavored foods like a roast leg of lamb," says Mary Sue Milliken of her recipe. She is executive chef and co-owner of both City restaurant and Border Grill in Los Angeles.

2 tablespoons unsalted butter
1-1/2 onions, sliced
2 teaspoons salt
1/2 teaspoon white pepper
1 bunch fresh dill
4 cups chicken stock or canned broth
1 lb. carrots, peeled, finely chopped (about 4 cups)
1 cup heavy cream
1 cup half-and-half

Melt butter over medium heat in a large stock pot. Cook onions with salt and pepper until soft, about 5 minutes.

Chop dill in half, separating leaves from stems. Save leaves for garnish. Tie stems with string and place in pot. Add chicken stock and cook over medium heat, uncovered, about 15 minutes.

Remove and discard dill stems and add carrots. Bring to boil, then lower heat and simmer. Cook, uncovered, until carrots are soft, about 10 minutes.

Purée soup in blender until smooth. Strain back into pot, pressing with back of a spoon to extract all juices. Add cream and half-and-half. Bring to a boil and remove from heat. Serve immediately garnished with dill leaves. Serves 4 to 6.

– Adapted from 'Trucs of the Trade, 101 Tricks, Tips, and Recipes from America's Greatest Chefs'

PHOTOS COURTESY OF CAMPBELL MUSEUM

CLASSY CAULIFLOWER: *Green-glazed earthenware tureen with stand, from Staffordshire, England, c. 1765.*

Campbell's Artful Tureens

The soup company exhibits its ornate wares, many from royal homes

By Kristiana Helmick
Special to The Christian Science Monitor

BOSTON

BEFORE BMWs, there were soup tureens.

People have likely sipped soup for millennia, but beginning with the Baroque period they found a way to make it frivolous and fashionable all at once.

Even cream of mushroom would muster some pizazz in the vessels on display at the Boston Athenaeum Gallery, where the Campbell (yes, the "*mmm ... mmm* good" folks) Museum is exhibiting part of its collection of 17th-, 18th-, and 19th-century tureens.

At first glance, it seems that soup has found popularity primarily when times are lean – or when people wish to be leaner. Campbell's exhibition, however, titled "Kings, Queens and Soup Tureens," aims to convince the viewer that soup was once – and can be – more than the ultimate sustenance food.

Catherine Magee, director of the Campbell Museum in Camden, N. J., asserts that while the contents of the bowl have changed over the centuries (swan soup is now a rarity), "the relevance of soup to the meal remains the same today," she says, as in the time "of kings and queens."

Consequently, in dedication to the trustworthy staple, the Campbell Museum's permanent collection also includes contemporary tureens as well as antique pieces such as those shown at the Athenaeum, and any work of art associated with the service of soup.

Comprehensiveness deserves congratulations; yet art for art's sake is not quite at play here. The rare tureens serve as an unmistakable advertisement for Campbell wherever they are shown.

Nonetheless, one cannot begrudge the company credit for amassing such delightful examples of Baroque, Rococo, and Neoclassic decorative art. The relatively small number of tureens on display at the Athenaeum is more than offset by the intrinsic elegance of each piece and by the care with which the exhibit was arranged.

From the austere, classic lines of a Polish silver tureen from the 19th century, one might gather that stew had to have been a dignified affair.

Yet a glass case nearby houses a pair of cabbage-munching white rabbits with brown spots from Chelsea, England, in the mid-18th century. Their ears serving as handles, their tummies a repository for dessert sauce, these two porcelain figures stand in playful contrast to the Polish work.

The variety doesn't end with rabbits. Did you ever think those plastic, no-spill commuter mugs were a nifty idea? Forget it. In 18th-century Saxony, travelers in the know already carried their china soup bowls and plates in handy leather carrying cases. One such bowl, decorated with a harbor landscape, sits next to its case – not far from the hometown favorite, a fluted ladle by Paul Revere.

Because a tureen was not, after all, meant only for admiration from a distance, its decoration holds a practical as well as artistic dimension. Ms. Magee explained that a tureen's finial, the handle or ornament on its lid, often designates the contents within.

Thus a Wedgwood-type tureen with a miniature cauliflower finial does more than take advantage of a magnificent green glaze for the leaves – it also allows dinner guests to anticipate the delicacy to come. Similarly, she says, the formerly rare lemon often adorned tureens in order to whet the diner's appetite.

The royalty who used these tureens and the artists who created them must have understood what is evident at the Athenaeum: Not all art need be mysterious, and not all whimsy need be useless.

Moreover, not all soup need be pedestrian, even if one does just buy it in a can.

PORCELAIN RABBIT: *Life-size tureen, from Chelsea, England, c. 1755. The ears serve as handles.*

■ *The Campbell Museum collection of tureens is on display at the Boston Athenaeum through June 9. It then travels to the Lockwood-Mathews Mansion Museum, Inc., Norwalk, Conn. (June 18-Sept. 26), and the Lakeview Museum of Arts, Peoria, Ill. (early November).*

BOOKS

Folk and Faeries In Olde England

By John Van Pelt

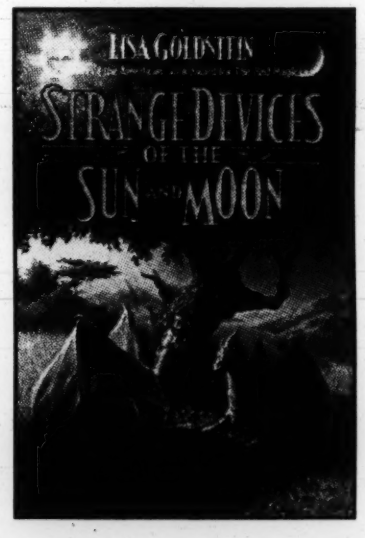
IN "Strange Devices of the Sun and Moon," award-winning fantasy writer Lisa Goldstein has peopled Elizabethan England with true historical characters, magical faeries and their opponents, and a memorable heroine, Alice Wood. The stories of these characters are woven into a tapestry of intrigue involving benevolent and malevolent forces vying for power.

Goldstein's London of the 1590s is authentic: a bustling center of commerce, politics, and art, and a magnet to scholars and entrepreneurs.

The reader rediscovers that marvelous cast of Reformation poets and playwrights – soon to be in the shadow of then-unknown Shakespeare – including mysterious Christopher Marlowe, breezy Thomas Nashe, and querulous Thomas Kyd.

In addition, the faerie courts of Queen Oriana and of her opponent, the red king, come to the city for their final, fateful showdown. Drawn into these affairs is Goldstein's sympathetic protagonist.

Goldstein favors strong women inhabiting cusps of history – in this case an intelligent widow, at the peak of England's Reformation with its sectarian and secular frictions and growing global perspective.



STRANGE DEVICES OF THE SUN AND MOON
By Lisa Goldstein
Tor Books, 301 pp. $19.95

Alice's adventures pit her not only against fantastical forces and wicked spies, but also against the male bigotry and religious persecution of the day. Her profession as a bookseller and member of the Stationer's Company (guild) is unusual for a woman. After all, this was an age when an independent widow could be accused of being a witch for little more than knowing how to read the printed word.

When Alice learns that her missing son Arthur is sought by the Queen's agents for treason, and by other sinister agents for more shadowy reasons, she reluctantly joins a motley alliance of "Fair Folk" and sympathizers in an effort to be the first to find Arthur.

Is her son really an heir to the English throne? Or to the faerie throne? Or is there a different explanation for the swirl of treachery and magic that has enveloped her house – which is located near the wide yard of St. Paul's where the booksellers have their stalls – and indeed all of London?

The dialogue carries a faithful echo of Elizabethan accents without overtaking sense: "The world is changing, moving in a direction I cannot predict. The Fair Folk have a part to play in all this, but whether it is large or small I cannot say," says Alice's odd friend Margery.

The story reaches its climax in a battle that includes mortals and immortals – rivaling the best of C.S. Lewis's Narnia series – and leads to Alice's final reconciliation with herself. She learns that conventional black-and-white labels of good and evil do not necessarily apply in the faerie realms, and in the process finds new acceptance for her own unconventional identity.

Goldstein's writing is like a lucid painting, its plotline and characters built up in economical daubs until the whole scene is crammed with familiar faces. This book will interest readers of both history and fantasy and especially those who dream of seeing new vistas open through magical doors where none stood before.

■ *John Van Pelt is the Monitor's art director.*

WORTH NOTING ON TV

By Alan Bunce

■ **FRIDAY**

A Day at the White House *(NBC, 8-9 p.m.)*: It's been done before but never ceases to fascinate: A camera crew dogs the president as he goes through the daily business of the world's most visible job. Previous presidents whom NBC has spent the day with are Nixon, Carter, Reagan, and Bush. For President Clinton's turn, the network says it picked a "random" date: Thursday, May 6, the day before the airing of this hour-long broadcast capsulizing the results. The minute-by-minute details typically viewed in these programs – the comments, the paper handling, the consultations – all give a sense of substance and reality to the office of president, as viewers observe him from early morning until late evening. This program will also spotlight some of the people Mr. Clinton has appointed to top posts, and anchor Tom Brokaw interviews Clinton about how it feels to be president.

Great Performances *(PBS, 9-10:30 p.m.)*: If you've ever seen him dance you probably still recall the effect the late Rudolf Nureyev had – a giant strength combined with a kind of unearthly magic. It was hard to connect his physical performance – brilliant as it was – with the transcendent feelings they stirred. In this edition of the arts series, Nureyev tells his life story in an interview taped in late 1990. Some of the story is also told through talks with Nureyev's renowned partner Margot Fonteyn and with people like Anna Undeltsova, a former member of Diaghilev's Ballet Russes. At the age of 101, she sharply recalls the aspiring young Nureyev. There are excerpts from his dances, of course, and the documentary also explores his early life in his hometown of Ufa, Russia.

LL Cool J Rockumentary *(MTV, 10-10:30 p.m.)*: Rapper LL Cool J is the focus of a documentary tracing the international star's life story, from his early days in New York City's Borough of Queens, to a Grammy Award ("Best Rap Solo," 1991), to the huge hit single "Going Back to Cali," and other successes. Performance clips include items like his appearance during the 1993 Presidential Inauguration and his Ivory Coast visit in 1988.

Please check local listings for all programs, especially those on PBS.

BOOKS

'Green' Battle Plans For Grass-Roots Action

By Mark Clayton

HAVE you ever found yourself fuming in traffic half a mile from home or distressed over yet another "Mall Coming!" sign stuck in a meadow? If so, read "How to Save Your Neighborhood, City, or Town: The Sierra Club Guide to Community Organizing" for the know-how to keep "progress" from spoiling your community.

Maritza Pick's handy political-battle manual is for anyone trying to keep a big corporate developer from ruining the neighborhood, axing local forest land, or dropping a mall onto community green space.

Quality of community life rode in the back seat during the go-go 1980s as cities and towns concentrated on luring businesses to increase revenue. But rising concern for preserving community open space and values – and putting the brakes on pollution, traffic, and the spread of asphalt – has become a 1990s issue.

From Columbus, Ohio, to Dedham, Mass., residents are organizing to resist the shoe-horning of huge shopping plazas into communities that neither want nor need them. Until recently, however, the developer's rallying cry of "more tax revenues" held sway with city councils. And it still may in your community.

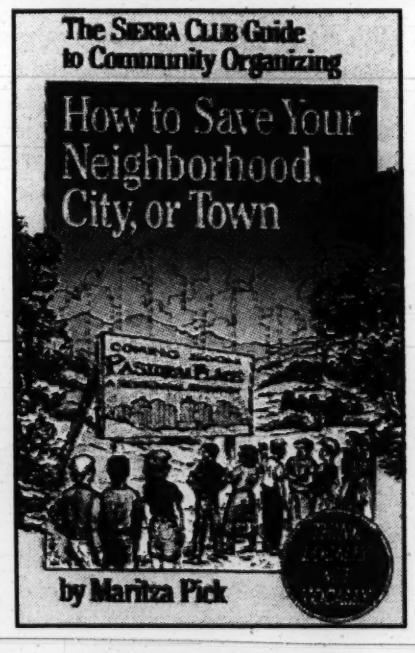
That's where Pick's book comes in. Because while residents are waking up to the hidden costs of overdevelopment, she says, the problem most face is knowing what steps to take to defeat bad development plans or pollution problems, especially when politicians are unresponsive.

It can be intimidating. Big companies can afford to hire consultants and lawyers by the dozen to pave the way at city hall for their plan. Fortunately, Pick is a veteran activist who has organized to stop tree cutting, polluting, and bad developments. Best of all, her book doesn't assume the reader knows anything. Instead, she lays out the nuts and bolts to organize and neutralize corporate advantages.

Simple things like organizing a "telephone tree," for instance, can rally hundreds of supporters to show up and speak out at public hearings, overwhelming the ranks of the blue-suited lawyers the developer deploys. Knowing how to research the development plan at city hall, and analyze it for flaws, is key. Creative flyers and bumper stickers can inform your community on a shoestring.

The book is divided into two parts. The first, "How to organize your community to solve environmental problems," shows how to write and distribute a newsletter; get your issue into the newspapers; organize an activist group; and handle public hearings. The second, "How to win environmental campaigns and elect environmentalists to public office," includes basics of transforming activists into a campaign organization; fund-raising; and dealing with the media.

Pick refers to this as "people power." But don't let that 1960s term throw you. This book has nothing to do with organizing civil disobedience or protest marches. Instead, it instructs America's couch-potato patriots step-by-step on how to revive democracy and make local government work for residents again.



HOW TO SAVE YOUR NEIGHBORHOOD, CITY, OR TOWN: THE SIERRA CLUB GUIDE TO COMMUNITY ORGANIZING
By Maritza Pick
Sierra Club Books
213 pp., $12 paper

This important book is really about the democratic process and reeducating the suburban middle class in grass-roots activism. The scenarios Pick describes are no figment of her imagination.

"Every activist will encounter defeats along with victories," Pick writes. "The point is to keep your fighting spirit alive for the noble cause."

■ *Mark Clayton is on the Monitor staff.*

High-Rises, Waves Erode the Beaches

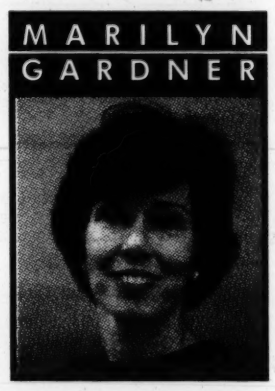
MADEIRA BEACH, FLA.

THIS week marks the unofficial beginning of "off-season" in Florida. Students who flocked to crowded beaches during spring break have returned to school. Retired Northerners who winter here – the proverbial snowbirds – have loaded their cars and headed home. Now "Vacancy" signs dot beachfront motels, and room rates are suddenly easier on a tourist's budget.

The late-spring lull becomes particularly evident on the beach. An hour or two before sunset, only a few people stroll along the water's edge, combing the white sand for shells, scanning the horizon for ships, and watching pelicans divebomb for dinner. Beach walkers who stay long enough will be rewarded by the sight of a giant orange ball sinking into the Gulf, painting the sky with a burst of pinks, lavenders, and reds.

Beaches remain one of the most changeable and irresistible landscapes on the planet. Every day, tides and weather alter the color of sea and sky, and the contour of sand. Equally unpredictable is the free-form sculpture of seaweed, shells, and sponges cast ashore by storms and currents.

Increasingly, though, what catches the eye of an off-season visitor are not the variables of nature but the permanent changes wrought by man – by wrecking balls and cranes. A tourist who has not walked this beach for a year can only react with dismay at the increasing density – more construction, less open space. One lot that was vacant last year now holds six luxury townhouses. Elsewhere two beach cottages have been lifted from their foundations, ready to be moved to make room for condominiums. Mile after mile along Gulf Boulevard, street-side vistas of sand and water are largely obstructed, thanks to developers eager to build high-rises and condo owners eager to buy rooms with a view.



Other changes are equally unsettling. Even now, nearly two months after a destructive March storm stalked the East Coast from Florida to Maine, remnants of damage remind beach walkers that waterfront development remains an act of daring.

Tiles have been blown off the roof of one lavish beachfront house. Shingles have been torn from the roofs of others. A picture window shattered by wind remains boarded up. Hurricane shutters are being installed everywhere.

The effects of coastal overdevelopment and the fragile relationship between humans and nature also become apparent at the Suncoast Seabird Sanctuary in nearby Indian Shores. Here an average of 15 to 20 injured pelicans, herons, egrets, and other birds are admitted every day. Ninety percent of those injuries result from acts directly or indirectly related to people. Indirect injuries, sanctuary workers explain, result from development of coastal areas that the birds consider home. Glass windows in tall buildings, power lines, automobiles, pollution in the water – all take their toll on birds.

Beaches erode so slowly from the sea that the eye doesn't notice, nor do beach-goers always gauge the speed with which beaches are shrinking from the land side as builders move in. One of the early ecological bumper stickers read: "Save Our Seashores." Now that message seems to have been buried under many other bumper stickers since then saying "Save Our ..."

In all the emotional debate about preserving spotted owls and forests, there is little talk about another endangered natural resource, beaches and coastlines. Forests at least are renewable. When trees are cut, others can be planted. But when beaches go, either through erosion or development, they are lost forever.

What happens when the toddlers now playing on this beach grow up and return with toddlers of their own? Will any open space remain? Or will a giant stucco wall of condos block their view of beaches, and will menacing "No Trespassing" signs block their access to them?

Beaches have always been the most immaterial and transient form of dry land. But it is not too late to save these fragile borderlands if enough seafarers and landlubbers join beach walkers in recognizing that there is nothing on land or sea or in the air that can substitute for the delight of these shell-strewn paths that touch all three elements and make them one.

COMMUNITY

In Baidoa, hundreds of youngsters orphaned by years of civil war, famine, and poverty are looked after at two centers

Somalia's Child Survivors

By Robert M. Press
Staff writer of The Christian Science Monitor

BAIDOA, SOMALIA

THEY are the children of Somalia – survivors of two years of civil war, famine, and often the death of brothers, sisters, or parents. For them it is often the small things that bring a smile: rain falling on an uplifted face; a hug from another child; a game of soccer.

"Just taking them out is quite a break for them," says Margaret Reilly, a nurse with Concern, an Irish charity here. We are squeezed into a van taking 14 young Somali children to a soccer game. They live, without parents, at Concern's rustic, intensive-care feeding center.

At the playing field on the edge of town the boys and girls take their seats along two rows of the old cement stands, crowding around Ms. Reilly, who obviously cares for them as much as they do for her.

Some of the children living at the Concern center have parents but were separated from them in the confusion of fleeing from battles, or in the process of being rescued from starvation by relief workers.

In September, Abdurahman, who says he is 15 but looks younger, was found with his sister in a village outside Baidoa. Both were starving. They were brought to the center here by a Concern nurse. Abdurahman's sister died, but he survived.

In January, his father, Issak Maalim Hassan, showed up at the center and was reunited with Abdurahman. Mr. Hassan had come from Wajid, nearly 60 miles away, looking for his children.

Some of the other children at the soccer game are orphans.

"My father died five months ago in the hospital," says Mohamed Sheikh, who looks about eight years old, "and my mother died two months ago in the [Concern feeding] center. I don't know what to do." He rubs a bare foot in the dirt. "My brother and sister and I will be in the center as long as it lasts."

As in most of Somalia, law and order broke down here when rebel groups began fighting each other after toppling longtime Somali dictator Mohamed Siad Barre in January 1991. The United Nations estimates that more than 300,000 people, many of them children, starved or were killed between then and now.

PHOTOS BY BETTY PRESS

ORPHANAGE CHILDREN: *At the Institute for the Disabled and Orphans in Baidoa, there are few of either: Many mothers too poor to take care of their children leave them here.*

FATHER AND SON: *Abdurahman was separated from his father, Issak, when the boy was rescued from starvation by aid workers. The two were reunited four months later at a feeding center.*

Yet for all they have been through, these children have not lost their childlikeness. They laugh, run, and play games – not always constructive ones. Daredevils in Mogadishu, the capital, snatch sunglasses from foreign soldiers and steal equipment from military vehicles.

A few blocks from the Concern feeding center is an old one-story building housing classrooms and bedrooms that open onto a dirt courtyard. Several hundred children sit beneath a few shade trees, or along the steps.

Many sit in bunches, copying Arabic script from the Koran onto long wooden boards they use as tablets. Others walk, two by two, arms-across-shoulders, or sit alone on low wooden beds. It is a crowded, noisy, but peaceful oasis.

This is the Institute for the Disabled and Orphans, run by Somalis and funded by several relief agencies, including Goal, another Irish charity. But despite its name, there are only 28 disabled youths, and few orphans.

"Their mothers bring them here," says Abdi Noor Ali, the director of the Institute since last May. "The mothers live in town or a village near Baidoa," he says above the din of the courtyard, "but are too poor to care for them."

There are no luxuries and few activities – no TV, no cassette players. The children like what they do find, though: safety, food, friends, and education in such subjects as English, Arabic, the Koran, and arithmetic. Often, when mothers come to pick up their children, "the children refuse to go to the village," says director Abdi. "This life is very good."

"I like it here," says five-year-old Sokrey Mohamed Noon. She lived with her mother in Baidoa until a month ago, she says. "I learn something, and I get food." But then she adds, quietly: "I want to see my mother."

"I'm here to learn," says eight-year-old Osman Ahmar, who adds that his father has gone to the capital but will come back tomorrow. His mother lives in town, he says. Asked if he knows how to count, he proudly counts to 50 in Somali.

Asked what he wants to be when he grows up, he replies: "I want to have a car, and be a driver."

And would he like to own a gun? "No," he replies, shaking his head.

The Home Forum.

Unfinished Family Stories

MY grandfather started the story with the line, "Run, stupid!" He was quoting me.

Summer afternoons he would seek out the cool on the front porch of our Memphis home. Often a vigorous game of baseball was underway in the yard. At 10, I was the eldest of the five or six neighborhood children who plied the front yards with continuous action ranging from baseball to more complicated games of our own making.

On the day of the story, we were playing baseball, and I was running toward first base. But the runner on second stayed put. He was watching the other team's fielder, who was searching for the ball in the bushes. I could see my home run slipping away, so I gave him a little encouragement.

For best effect, Paw Paw told the story over Sunday dinner after I had become a full-fledged teenager. He closed with the embarrassing fact that I had often allowed myself four strikes while the rest of the group got the regulation limit. But I knew he was not out to embarrass me. He was just better with a story than with a hug.

I developed my own stories to tell on Paw Paw. They repaid him in terms he could accept, but there was no "what-do-I-do-now?" feeling that could intrude after a more obvious expression of affection. My favorite anecdote reminded him of my early days taking piano lessons.

Paw Paw was a music lover of refined tastes. His scratchy opera records filled the house with a strange grandeur I never truly appreciated until well after I was in college. It was Paw Paw who had paid for the piano and the piano lessons for my brother and me. Maybe that accounts for his response to one particular piece we learned during our first few lessons.

It was not Mozart or Chopin made simple, as Paw Paw might have hoped. It was a sort of American Indian-esque melody. No doubt it was intended to capitalize on young pianists' interest in television and its variations on the theme of westerns. I have to say that the left-hand part did give a very satisfying imitation of a tom-tom.

As I practiced, Paw Paw was encamped in his overstuffed chair in back of the piano bench. He was humming. Actually, to be more accurate, he was chanting – giving his version of a warrior's song.

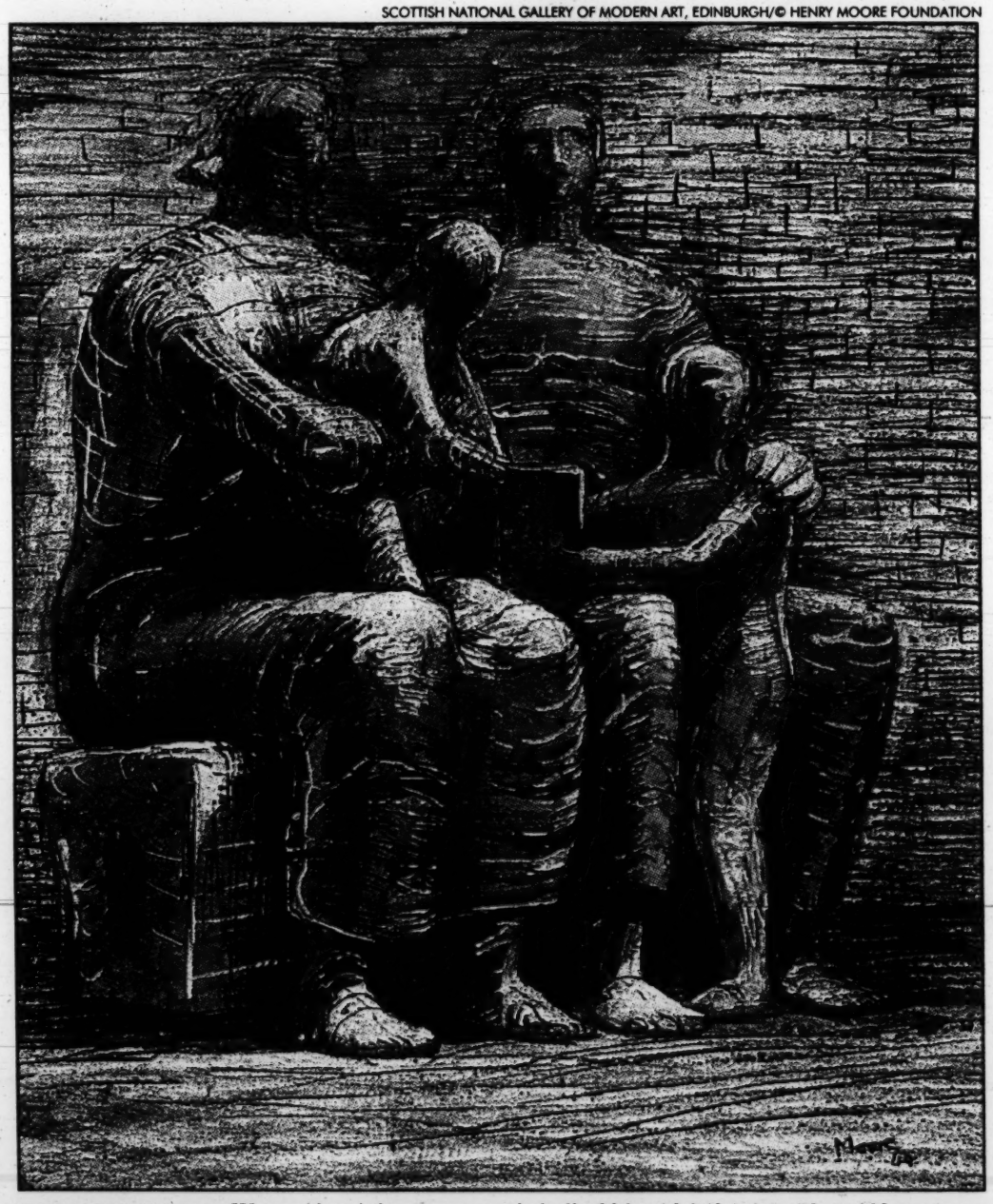
I could usually count on his response when I told the story. There was a slight smile, a softening look about the eyes, and possibly a gentle poke to the ribs – if he was feeling particularly expressive.

The best family storytelling doesn't have to be the somber conveyance of important moments of family history. What turn out to be the most significant events may look to be the most uneventful. Yet I have come to believe that telling and retelling those small tales has allowed our family to pass along something we might not otherwise have put forward in quite so lasting a form. We have been able to show each other in just how much detail we have observed and loved one another.

One of the smallest stories was about a story. It began as a supreme effort at conciseness, knit by my mother. But to her dismay, it unraveled. While Mother could recount family adventures with the best of us, her bedtime fiction had established its own class. Almost every night for about three years when my brother and I were young, Mother would tell us some segment of an ongoing original tale – although she often borrowed characters from Uncle Remus and other sources.

One night we were late getting to bed, but we persisted in demanding our story. Mother finally relented and said, "It's going to be a very short one. Then not another word out of you! Once upon a time there was a little rabbit, and he sat on a block of ice and said, 'BRRR,' and so they named him 'Brrr Rabbit.' "

SCOTTISH NATIONAL GALLERY OF MODERN ART, EDINBURGH/© HENRY MOORE FOUNDATION



'FAMILY GROUP' (1944): *Watercolor, ink, crayon, and chalk, 20 by 16 7/8 in., by Henry Moore.*

The bad pun, recollected in what was supposed to be tranquility, kept us awake well into the night. And it almost always produced the same response for years afterward. We only needed to say "Brrr Rabbit" with the right emphasis to produce the desired results.

There were some times, however, when telling stories had effects other than those that we planned. Like many families during the '50s and '60s, ours could weave in among personal stories some tales that were more epic – about civil-rights protests, the draft and Vietnam, student unrest. When aunts, uncles, and cousins came together on a Sunday afternoon, it was never enough for this family of storytellers and story collectors simply to rehash the morning news. We'd bring out carefully chosen samplings from our own experience – evidence we felt more certain of than any statistic. With these tales we hoped to win the others to our view, or at least to withstand a counterstory.

One bit of personal documentation, offered by an aunt when we were talking about civil-rights demonstrations, stayed with me over the years. For a long time I remembered what she said only because there was a simple immediacy about the image she created. But now I have another reason to keep hers among my collection of family lore. It has taught me about an important kind of family tale I hadn't appreciated before.

These aren't the neat little yarns we loved to tell on each other because of the punchlines, or what I think of as huglines. These are the unfinished stories, family works-in-progress. If you stop short and look at any one fragment, you may be disappointed, judge wrongly or with a harshness that blinds. But if you wait for more, you may see what is taking shape – people working to keep on building up the substance of loving stories when so much seems bent on tearing down. These sagas are no less precious to me because they pass through shadows or because many of their dramas are still waiting for the resolution that will become another beginning.

When I first heard my aunt's anecdote, I was unable to give it a context. As strange as this seems to me now with hindsight, I didn't really grasp what was going on around me in Memphis in those years. In other cities, there had been far more violent resistance to being stirred from the drugged sleep of segregated lives. In my family, attitudes toward racial questions had not hardened into hate. But the struggle for civil rights was shaking foundations. The process of sorting out the private meaning of public stories sent tremors through the family.

So on that Sunday afternoon 30 years ago, in a protest against civil-rights protests, my aunt documented her despair with something she knew about – with a story. She told of a woman who worked as a domestic. The woman said she needed to leave work early because she was going downtown to "bump white people."

A year or two ago I spent some time in Memphis with this same aunt. She let me read some of my cousin's letters from Jerusalem. A minister, he had first traveled there for a sabbatical. But his interest and activism had grown so that his church appointed him to a committee working for Middle East peace.

My uncle interrupted to remind us of something that had happened before my cousin went into the ministry. He and my uncle were in Florida spear fishing, standing in the water at night, shining a light into the sea. They sighted some sting rays, so they quickly returned to shore. After they felt sure the rays had cleared out, my cousin waded into the water, pulling a boat on a tow rope. The boat slid too close to him and gave his a surprise shove from behind. "He must have jumped two feet in the air," my uncle chuckled.

My uncle's tale was told in the spirit of my grandfather's stories, a gentle nudge to the ribs. But perhaps he also meant to make a point about peacemakers, about fear and where it must first be stopped.

When my aunt got the floor again, she began to talk about her church in downtown Memphis and about their sister congregation, an African-American church. She told me how much their churches had been learning from coming together, and how much she had learned.

There is still a long way to go, she acknowledged, but these are beginnings. Then she talked about her next-door neighbor who had come by just a few days before to see if things were OK with them. He hadn't seen my uncle in the yard as he usually did. "Just the nicest neighbor you could ask for," she said of this man of African-American descent.

One story ends in revelations; others await resolution. The point is less the punchline and more the fact that we go on collecting stories, that we still tell these tales and details. They are our medium of exchange. They are one important shape love takes among us. And this is what finishes our unfinished stories.

Carolyn Ruffin

ART NOW

REPRODUCTIONS COURTESY OF THE UNIVERSITY OF DENVER

'BLUEDEEP DENVER' (1993): *Wooden sculpture, 9 feet by 6 feet by 48 feet, by Robert Stackhouse.*

Temporary Wooden Art That Makes a Lasting Impression

FROM one side, the giant wooden structure looked like a simple plane of wooden slats painted blue. But after walking around Robert Stackhouse's "Bluedeep Denver" at the University of Denver's Schwayder Art Gallery, it became something else – the hull of a ship turned upside down, perhaps, or a mysterious building. And walking into the A-frame of the huge sculpture changed the experience dramatically. Exterior light filtered through the slats, changing the entire interior. There was something indefinably primeval (and secretly sophisticated) about the way the light played through the slats and changed the space around the viewer.

"Bluedeep Denver" was 9 feet high, 6 feet wide (at its widest point), and 48 feet long. It is now gone. Part of its beauty lay in the fact that it was a temporary structure that now lives on in the imagination of the viewer. It's like experiencing an important historical moment, and then having the opportunity to think about it later.

Stackhouse is a New York artist, but he managed during a short stay in Denver to create a structure specific to place. "Bluedeep Denver" taps into the viewer's own sense of culture, heritage, and place to complete the work. Participatory sculpture.

He was attracted to wood because it seemed to have a mind of its own, he says. "It does strange things. It curves and it warps even after you construct [the piece]. I was attracted to material that changed. Wood altered itself even after the original construction."

Stackhouse began his career as a painter, but went into sculpture in the late 1960s. It was the age of Minimalism, a period when many artists were involved in creating radically simplified forms as sculpture. He tried to make a Minimalist piece, but the 40-foot wood branch he was working on resisted the harsh geometry of Minimalism. And so he began to look at the wooden form differently.

He visited a zoo in Washington, D.C., and found himself attracted to the snakes. The "minimalist" form he was working on became a "Great Rain Snake." The snake, he realized, was a transformative symbol. And over the years, the serpent and another symbol, the ship, became a great part of the language of his art.

"Bluedeep Denver," like so many of his other works, was meant to provide a transforming experience. The lines are sinuous and subtle – you cannot take them in all at once.

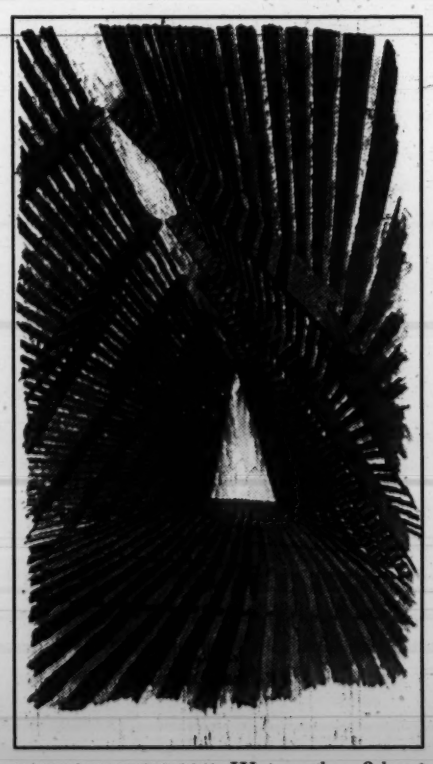
The color of the sculpture is as important as its form. You can't help but feel the vivid implications of the color – in this case, marine blue.

Stackhouse says the meaning of the piece lies inside it, in the transforming experience of walking through it and participating in it.

"What I hope will happen is that viewers will gain a sense of their own culture, a sense of personal history. A signal of success to me is when someone visits one of my structures that they come out not asking me what I intended, but informing me what I did," he says.

He tries for "a sense of place, of being, of connection – to self and other. I'm interested in turning these structures into experiences that are multileveled. I'm trying to find loaded images – for different people [these images] mean different things. I've had people walk into one of my structures and ask, 'Have you ever been to Norway, or Algeria, or Panama, or Detroit?' And the answer is 'No, I haven't.' I deal with very personal imagery from my [Scots-Irish] heritage, my culturally specific life, and I try to build on that."

Marilynne S. Mason



'RUBY'S HEART' (1988): *Watercolor, 9 by 5 inches, by Robert Stackhouse, who began his career as a painter.*

Who Is Our Mother?

WHEN I was growing up, whenever I felt discouraged, sad, or ill, my mother was a steadfast presence by my side. When I had any kind of problem, she was there to comfort and encourage me, and most of all to remind me that God would heal me if I prayed.

I regularly attended the Christian Science Sunday School, where I learned that God is Love and that I am His child. Many times my mom would pray for me, and I would be healed. To this day I recall numerous quick healings, such as that of an earache, severe stomach pains, and a nose infection. Mom wasn't around, however, when I went away to summer camp and found myself, at age fourteen, homesick and frightened. I had enrolled in a special program with two counselors and only a few other kids. We would be sleeping in tents deep in the woods. The first night, it thundered and poured. I huddled in my sleeping bag, wishing Mom were there, feeling so scared and lonely.

Then I decided to pray to God, the way she had always told me to. A favorite hymn I had sung in Sunday School came to mind. It starts out: "O gentle presence, peace and joy and power . . . ." These words are part of a poem called "The Mother's Evening Prayer," written by Mary Baker Eddy, the Discoverer and Founder of Christian Science.

The Christian Science Monitor's Religious Article

From what I'd learned, I knew that this "gentle presence" was God, ever-present Love. I sang the whole hymn quietly to myself and was especially comforted by its assurance that God's "arm encircles me, and mine, and all." All the fear and homesickness melted away. A warm feeling of peace settled upon me as I listened to the rain pounding on the roof of the canvas tent. I was so grateful to God! That peace remained with me for the rest of my stay.

Looking back, I can see how that experience was a milestone in my understanding of God, divine Love, who is man's only true Parent. My human mother wasn't with me there (and she couldn't possibly be with me every minute). But divine Love *was* there—and is always with me, tenderly ministering to my needs. I could see that God is "Mother," expressing gentleness, faithfulness, and comfort, just as surely as He is "Father."

Now that I have a child of my own, I feel able to fulfill my responsibility to my child without a sense of burden when I remember that God is the true Mother and tenderly cares for and maintains His own creation. The more I listen to God for guidance and follow His precepts, the more wisdom and love my actions reflect. I take tremendous comfort in the fact that my daughter, like all of us, is in reality the spiritual offspring of divine Love, inseparable from God's presence and care. When we've prayed this way, my family has experienced healing, just as my mother and I did when I was little.

The compassion Christ Jesus expressed when healing people and his tender regard for little children certainly point to a character imbued with the fullness of divine Love. To him, God was infinitely generous and conscientious in His care for man. Jesus says in the Biblical book of Matthew: "Behold the fowls of the air: for they sow not, neither do they reap, nor gather into barns; yet your heavenly Father feedeth them. Are ye not much better than they?"

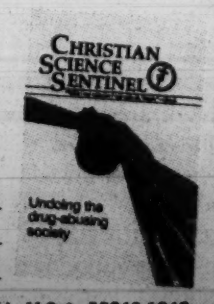
Our dearest relationships on earth—whether we have our mother or father with us or not—can be made even stronger and more fulfilling by humbly worshiping God as infinite Love and as the only source of true comfort and care. His love will then shine through every gentle touch, motivate our deeds, and bring lasting peace into our lives.

One weekly magazine that feeds the world's deepest hunger.

Discover the rewards of a spiritual outlook.
26 weeks of the Sentinel for just $25.00.
☐ Bill me (N. America & U.K. only).
☐ Payment enclosed.

Name _____
Address _____
City _____ State _____ ZIP _____
PHA8L

Mail to: Christian Science Sentinel, P.O. Box 11342, Des Moines, IA, U.S.A. 50340-1342



OPINION/ESSAYS

Western Waffling Opened Way for Serbians

By Richard C. Hottelet

HAD Western determination been strong enough, the killing in what was Yugoslavia would have stopped and the road to peace opened long ago. But the wish has been entangled in cross purposes, false alternatives, wobbly parallels, and strained analogies.

Not new in human experience. St. Paul told the Corinthians, "If the trumpet give an uncertain sound, who shall prepare himself to the battle?" In this case, the mixed signals could be largely deliberate.

Prominent figures warn against involvement in someone else's civil war. But is this a civil war? Bosnia-Herzegovina and Croatia are recognized as sovereign states. They are members of the United Nations. Their right to independence and territorial integrity has been emphasized and reemphasized by the UN Security Council and General Assembly. The UN Charter affirms the right of self-defense. To set all that aside would be a political act of the most sinister consequence worldwide.

One variant of this excuse, with special appeal to the Europeans, is that the conflict is a regrettable but not surprising tribal war in a part of the world given to that kind of thing. Some see the Balkans as a caldron of evil perhaps best left to boil away. Britain's Lord Carrington has said that the Yugoslav crisis would solve itself.

Americans are easily impressed by the false analogy of Vietnam. But the tragedy of Vietnam stems not from the nature of the conflict but from a triple fact. The United States gave a blank check to a corrupt and incompetent government in Saigon, our military command was inadequate for that war, and our leaders imposed crippling restrictions on policy. The result: a military and political mind-set wildly irrelevant to the problem of Yugoslavia.

The quagmire thesis seeks support in the German experience of World War II. Then, it is argued, 20 German divisions were trapped by Tito's guerrillas – a portent for intervention today. This mishmash logic equates a UN effort to stop the killing and bring peace to Bosnia with a Nazi army of occupation. It also ignores the significant help Tito received from Britain and the US and the fact that Yugoslavia was a German sideshow. Adolf Hitler settled for a manageable level of violence there as he kept his lines of communication open to Greece and fought his main war in the Soviet Union.

AS for the Serbs being proud Chetnik guerrillas who would now fight off the world, Tito's partisans made mincemeat of them in the real civil war that underlay the German occupation. Today, this assemblage of rapists and cutthroats, whose communist leader, Slobodan Milosevic, has been recycled as a nationalist demagogue, has hardly had to fight for its victories.

Since they attacked Croatia in 1991, the Serbs have used the old Yugoslav Army's enormous weapons stockpiles. They have fought opponents numerically weaker and armed only with what could be smuggled or scrounged. It takes neither courage nor skill to run tanks through unarmed villages or to rain artillery shells on terrified towns and cities. If the Serbian fighters were even a competent military force, they would have completed their conquest six months ago.

Which raises another question about the Western position. Britain and France have importuned the US not to intervene. We have 6,500 troops in Bosnia, they say, bringing food and medicine to two million people; you have none. If you, the US, act alone, Serbian retaliation will kill our men, not yours. Britain warned against American relief airdrops. What makes the argument seem either naive or disingenuous is that the troops in Bosnia are superb soldiers. If they are in danger, they should be reinforced or pulled out. There is something seriously wrong with leaving them in place as hostages to Serbia's good will in order to feed the people whom Serbia continues to kill.

Negotiation is urged as the civilized alternative to force; but Serbia has used the pretense of negotiation and agreement only to gain time. Once the Serbs have taken all they can, they may seriously propose a cease-fire in order to keep it. They still reject the UN's demand that they disgorge what they have conquered.

Meanwhile, a frenzy of negotiation over the past 10 months has produced a Humpty Dumpty solution for Bosnia of ethnic enclaves (their people already massacred or displaced) with connecting throughways to be policed in perpetuity, no less, by an outside authority.

Opponents of intervention bemoan the absence of a clear goal, which justifies the inevitable risk. Lost in the hemming and hawing is the plainest and most compelling, the immediate and indispensable condition of peace: genocide shall not pay. To let Serbia prove the contrary would encourage imitations.

Too many hot spots exist for Yugoslavia to be minimized as a local phenomenon. Hitler started that way and, as a clear and present warning, Saddam Hussein is still around.

■ *Richard C. Hottelet is moderator of 'America and the World' on National Public Radio.*

TOM HUGHES

It's Time Uncle Sam Left Guantanamo to the Cubans

By Pat M. Holt

THE Defense Base Closure and Realignment Commission is considering a list of bases proposed by the Pentagon to be closed or shrunk. The commission has the final say. By July 1, it must send its recommendations to President Clinton, who must approve or reject the whole list.

He cannot change it. If he approves, the president will then send the list to Congress, which will have the same take-it-or-leave-it option.

Congress devised this procedure a few years ago to avoid having to make painful decisions about individual bases. Expensive experience had shown that when the matter was left to Congress, the decision was almost invariably to forbid the Defense Department to close a base long after the base had outlived its usefulness. The reason, of course, was that even if a base contributed nothing to national defense, it generally contributed a good deal to the local economy.

The commission is not limited to bases in the United States. It has a splendid opportunity to advance American foreign policy by adding the Guantanamo, Cuba, Naval Base to its list. The US acquired the base in 1901, originally for use as a coaling station, as part of the settlement following the Spanish-American War.

We agreed to pay Cuba $2,000 in gold per year. When the US went off the gold standard in the 1930s, this was increased to $3,386 to reflect the devaluation of the dollar. A check for this amount is sent to Havana every New Year's Day, but under the Castro regime the Cubans have not cashed the checks. They argue that the base is a remnant of imperialism to which the US is not entitled and which should be abandoned.

The US has stayed in Guantanamo these 34 years under Castro for three reasons: (1) to show the Cubans we could; (2) on the theory that if we were going to give it up, we ought to use it as a bargaining chip to get some unspecified concession from the Cubans; and (3) some admirals like it as a training facility.

Meanwhile, the costs, budgetary and otherwise, of staying in Guantanamo have mounted. During the Johnson administration, the Cubans cut off the base's water supply. The US response was to install a plant to desalinate water from the Caribbean, an expensive way to get fresh water.

GUANTANAMO once provided well-paid employment for large numbers of Cubans who lived nearby. The Castro regime harassed these workers and finally made it impossible for them to get to their jobs. There is a double fence around the land perimeter of the base. US Marines patrol one side; Cuban militia, the other. The US solved the local labor problem by importing Jamaicans on a rotating basis for six-month periods. But the Jamaicans brought with them quantities of marijuana that they sold to American sailors.

The base does have some advantages for training: Deep water is close offshore. There is not much commercial shipping or air traffic in the vicinity. There are no onshore diversions for sailors such as are found in Jacksonville, Fla., or Norfolk, Va. But when all the costs are considered, Guantanamo is not cost-effective. The base has also lately served as a holding station for Haitians intercepted at sea by the Coast Guard, but that, hopefully, is temporary.

It would probably be a mistake to raise the question of withdrawal as a subject for negotiations with the Cubans. They might want to add other items, and the process could be prolonged and complicated.

We don't need to talk about it. We can let the Defense Base Closure and Realignment Commission add Guantanamo to its list. Then we could simply pick up our things and go. The Cubans would look over the fence some morning and the Marines would not be there.

The initial Cuban reaction would no doubt be one of bewilderment. That would be amusing all by itself. But after a time, the Cubans would get the message that, so far as the US is concerned, the cold war is over and it's time to put US-Cuban relations on a different basis.

■ *Pat M. Holt, former chief of staff of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, writes on foreign affairs from Washington.*

President Déby's pledge, 'never again,' rings hollow in the face of atrocities

Stop Chad's Rights Abuses

By Curt Goering and Almami Cyllah

AMNESTY International is deeply concerned about the emerging pattern of human rights abuses being committed by forces loyal to various African leaders. Chad, under the leadership of President Idriss Déby, is no exception to this increasingly common phenomenon of gross human rights violations perpetrated against a people by a government that is desperately trying to secure and maintain its hold on power.

President Déby seized power in Chad in a military coup in December of 1990. His regime inherited a legacy of devastating violence and human rights abuses that had been notably exacerbated under the deposed government of Hissein Habré (1982-1990). Under President Habré's rule, approximately 40,000 Chadians disappeared or were killed by government forces who shot, burned alive, poisoned, tortured, or starved their victims to death.

Aware that the people of Chad knew well the frustrations, torture, and killings brought about by the absence of freedom and peace, Déby tried to win national and international support and legitimacy by appointing a commission to investigate human rights abuses under the former regime. He dissolved the security police, released political prisoners, and promised to hold free elections and restore democracy.

In a letter to Amnesty International in January 1991, Déby claimed that his government's slogan was, "Plus jamais ca!" (Never again!). The international human rights community hoped this phrase would remain a credible motto, but today, as hundreds of Chadians continue to be killed, tortured, detained, and disappear, we are reminded only of dashed hopes and expectations.

Although the situation in Chad has been complicated by division within the armed forces and by the rebel insurgency in the South, Déby is clearly to blame for his government's failure to bring to justice those who have committed abuses. Déby has not responded positively to international pressure, and he seems to lack the political will to do so. It can be inferred that Déby has avoided launching investigations into human rights violations because he has assumed that eventually the international community will resign itself to accepting this pattern of violence.

The international community cannot resign itself, not if it listens to the voice of Mingue Ouadaye, a six-year-old from Doba who was wounded by bullets as her grandmother was killed trying to save an eight-year-old girl hit by a bullet. On Aug. 17, 1992, government forces went on a rampage in Doba, a town in the south of Chad, shooting people indiscriminately in their houses and in the streets and fields. More than 100 unarmed civilians, including children, were killed; many more were injured. The authorities claim that the soldiers were hunting for armed rebels suspected to be hiding among the civilian population. In reality, soldiers deliberately shot at children, who were unarmed and posed no danger.

Listen to the voice of Irene Remadji who was two-and-a-half years old when, while she was being carried on her mother's back, soldiers shot and killed her mother in N'Djamena in February 1992. Irene's young mother had just arrived in N'Djamena on her way to visit her sister, when the truck she was in was stopped by soldiers. Passengers, who were all from the south of Chad, were ordered off the truck at gunpoint and then fired on without provocation. The body of Irene's mother was taken to the morgue with Irene still tied to her back. When it was discovered that Irene was still alive, she was kept in police custody without food or treatment for her bullet wounds until the following day when she was released to her relatives.

Irene Remadji was two-and-a-half years old when, while she was being carried on her mother's back, soldiers shot and killed her mother in N'Djamena in February 1992.

Listen to the family of Joseph Behidi, an outspoken 40-year-old lawyer and vice president of the Chadian Human Rights League (LTDH), who was driving home from a nightclub at 3 a.m. on Feb. 16, 1992, when armed men in military uniform forced his car to stop and shot him dead at point blank range.

The fact that Mr. Behidi's car was later found near the headquarters of the security force seems to contradict the verdict of a six-month official investigation into the murder. Chadian authorities announced that the killing was committed by "des elements incontroles": armed groups or individuals who are outside the law and acting without the knowledge or supervision of the government. By early 1993, there had been no independent judicial investigation into the killing, and three journalists had met similar ends.

Throughout Chad, there are voices that the world needs to hear. The stories of egregious human rights abuses being committed by the same government that once proclaimed "never again!" continue to be created and to be told by a people jaded and hardened by the years of violence they have been forced to endure.

The United States government must prove to Déby that it will never again accept the use of violence against civilians in Chad. In the 1980s, when Chad was upheld as a bulwark against Libya, the US government chose to ignore Habré's human rights record and provided the government with military support and training. As a consequence, the US funded and trained Habré's secret police force, widely known to be serious human rights offenders.

The US must rectify its past failure and urge the Chadian government to be accountable for its actions. Déby will have to feel the heat of international pressure before he is compelled to stop perpetuating an entrenched pattern of violence against the Chadian people. The time to do this is now, so that lives that might otherwise be lost can be saved, and so that the present Interim Parliament and High Council of Transition can effectively move toward establishing a representative form of government in Chad. The early warning signs are clear; steps must be taken now to prevent the continuation of this internecine strife.

■ *Curt Goering is deputy executive director of Amnesty International USA. Almami Cyllah is the government program officer at the Washington office of Amnesty International USA.*

Signs of Hope In South Africa

RETURNING to South Africa after an absence of many years is a journey of hope, tinged with anxiety.

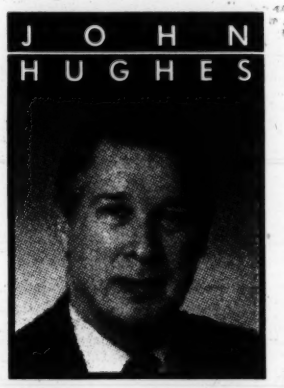
Hope, because two men of remarkable stature – white President Frederik de Klerk and black leader Nelson Mandela – are dragging South Africa out of years of racial oppression. Anxiety, because white and black extremists of the political right and left seek to frustrate this promising prospect.

The returning visitor is confronted by a land of acute contrasts.

On the one hand, much of the legal apparatus of apartheid has been scrapped since I worked in South Africa as a correspondent. There are no more separate entrances for whites and blacks in government offices, no more segregated park benches, no more separate seating by race in trains and buses. Blacks generally cannot afford to buy into white areas, but the legal impediment to them doing so is gone. Blacks and whites now share beaches, wait on each other in stores, and work beside each other in offices.

On Cape Town's magnificent new foreshore, blacks and whites dine together at open-air restaurants. Atop Cape Town's exquisite Table Mountain, a white man holds hands with a black woman – an act that in the age of apartheid would have sent both of them to jail. In South Africa today, there is a dramatic breaking down of racial barriers. President De Klerk, in moving words on television, apologizes for the misery that apartheid has caused in the past.

But this new concord is threatened by widespread violence and terror. Friends warn you not to drive on certain roads after dark. Giant armored troop carriers guard bridges and flyovers from which stones have been hurled at white motorists. Blackened store fronts and shattered windows are evidence of recent rioting. It is unwise to hike alone. The newspaper columns are littered with accounts of kidnappings and shootings, such as the one a few days ago in which five white men were murdered in an East London nightspot.



On the road over which we drive from Port Elizabeth to the university town of Grahamstown, an official of Mr. Mandela's African National Congress (ANC) is ambushed a couple of hours ahead of us by machine-gun-firing opponents. Guns are everywhere. A sign at the entrance to the United States Information Service library in Cape Town warns somberly: "Weapons strictly prohibited."

Much of the time the violence is politically-inspired. Right-wing white extremists act against nonwhite leaders and politicians they perceive to be on the brink of assuming power. Assassinated ANC leader Chris Hani, a communist who ironically had been preaching moderation, was the victim of such forces.

At the other end of the spectrum, radical black extremists respond violently to Mr. Hani's murder and impatiently against Mandela's appeals for an orderly transition to democracy in South Africa.

Some of the violence is straightforwardly criminal, mostly on the part of frustrated nonwhites who have been confined to a third-world standard of living in shacks and shanty towns, while privileged whites have maintained a first-world living standard.

Promised now, perhaps for early next year, are elections in which all South Africans, black and white, will vote as equals and which will presumably place the black majority in control. There will be a new flag, probably a new national anthem, possibly even a new capital.

But those are relatively easy decisions compared to the immediate task of keeping the spoilers at bay while De Klerk and Mandela try to hammer out the transitional process in difficult negotiations with an assortment of other parties and political factions. White extremists target black leaders. Blacks target whites and fellow blacks who stand in their way. Winnie Mandela, Nelson Mandela's estranged wife, fans the flames of black radicalism. Chief Mangosthu Buthelezi, the Zulu leader, obstructs the process while bargaining for a special role for himself in the new South Africa.

The change for the better that has already taken place in South Africa is remarkable. It would be a tragedy if current violence is allowed to thwart the even larger gains that seem within the grasp of this lovely but tortured land.

"First the blade, then the ear, then the full grain in the ear."

Fed's Fuel Needed

UNITED States employment numbers will get intense scrutiny when released tomorrow by the Bureau of Labor Statistics. Most economists expect the unemployment rate to remain at 7 percent and employment to increase a little. But a string of weak statistics in recent days has caused policymakers and business leaders to wonder if the nation is slipping into another slowdown.

On Tuesday, the Commerce Department reported that its economic forecasting gauge, the index of leading indicators, dropped 1 percent in March, the worst in more than two years. The statistical series that make up the index are chosen because they tend to move a few months ahead of a decline or advance in the overall economy. However, the index has on occasion moved down simultaneously with the start of a recession. It has also falsely signaled a recession.

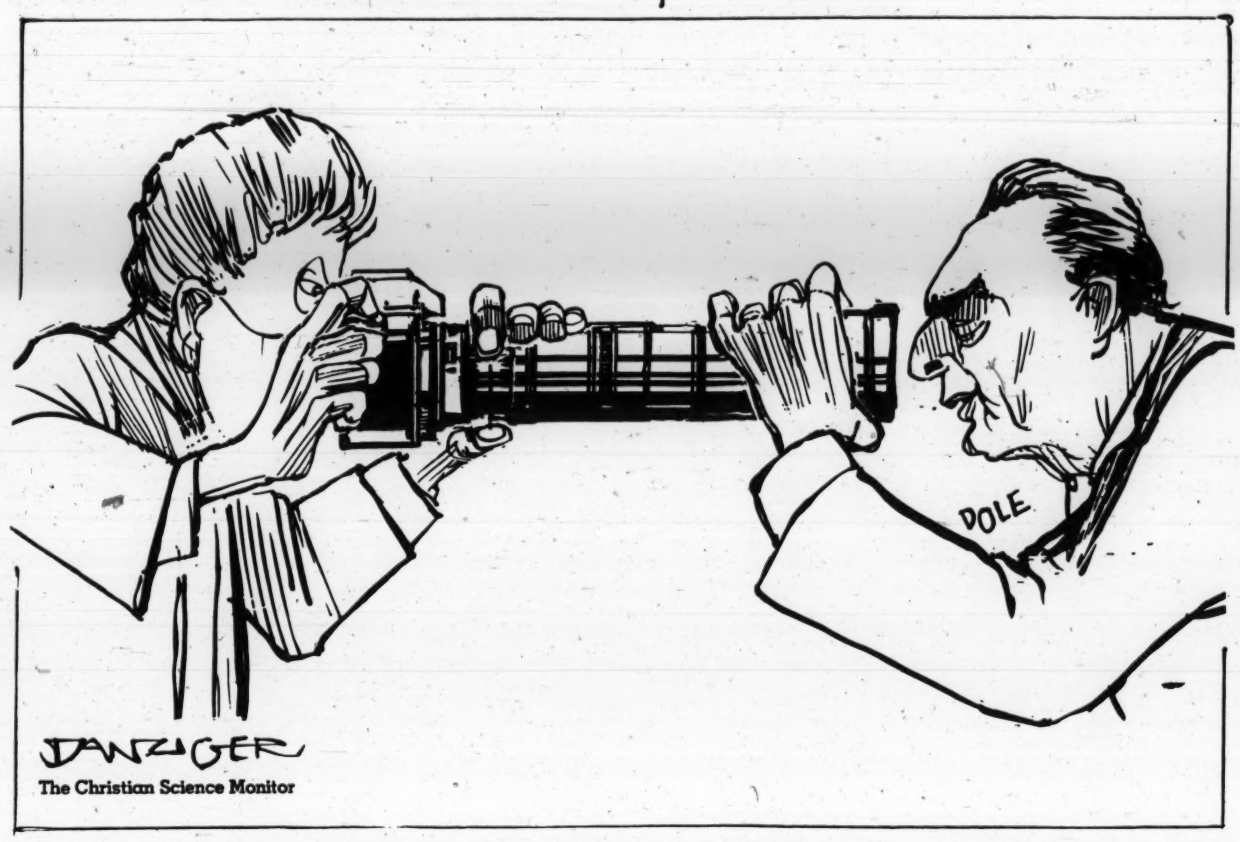
On Monday, a survey by the National Association of Purchasing Management indicated that manufacturing output shrank in April, and the Commerce Department said construction spending dipped 0.8 percent in March. Last week Commerce estimated that the real growth rate for gross domestic product (GDP), the total national output of goods and services, in constant dollars, was only 1.8 percent in the first quarter, down from a 4.7 percent rate in 1992's last quarter. There were more disappointing statistics in personal income, factory orders, and consumer confidence.

At this point, economists are arguing over the significance of these numbers. Prudential Economics, for example, holds that a business investment boom and a growth of nearly 500,000 jobs in the first quarter will return the economy to a healthier growth rate over the course of the year. But Phillip Braverman, an economist with DKB Securities Corporation, says GDP growth in the second quarter will be 1 percent or less. He argues that the modest first quarter growth in GDP was exaggerated by the swelling of unwanted business inventories and the accounting procedure of inflating sales of computers and furniture to reflect declining prices. Further, first quarter final sales – to the user of a product rather than to a middleman – declined 0.3 percent in real terms. Nonetheless, Mr. Braverman predicts that increased hiring of part-time temporary jobs and contract work for the self-employed boost payrolls by 125,000 or more in April.

All this indicates a struggling, nearly stagnant economy. To some degree, this could reflect uncertainty over taxes. Many factors are at work in the complex American economy. However, the Federal Reserve shouldn't take any more chances on the health of the recovery. It should cut interest rates further by providing banks with more reserves.

EDITORIALS

The White House sharpens its focus



Countering a Campaign of Fear

WITH the approach of Cambodia's May 23 elections, the Khmer Rouge continues to increase the level of violence aimed at United Nations personnel as well as at ordinary Cambodians.

Within the last few days, Khmer Rouge guerrillas have shelled UN positions in the capital of Kompong Thom province. The shelling came hours after guerrillas, believed to be Khmer Rouge, attacked UN personnel traveling in the northwestern part of the country. One Japanese was killed and several in the entourage were wounded.

This continuing strategy to aggressively sow fear, and so disrupt the UN-sponsored parliamentary elections, must not be allowed to succeed.

The UN clearly is committed to seeing the process through, despite the recognition that the peacekeeping portion of its activities hasn't succeeded. Yasushi Akashi, who heads the UN effort in Cambodia, and Prince Norodom Sihanouk were set to meet today with other factions, including the Khmer Rouge, to continue their efforts to resolve differences.

Attention also must be paid to factors that continue to breed the economic and social discontent on which the Khmer Rouge still feeds in some areas. The economy remains in desperate shape. Corruption and profiteering have appeared in some urban areas as the UN moved in along with the money needed to support its activities.

The question for the estimated 5 million registered voters is similar to that faced by voters in other nations struggling, often in the face of violent opposition, to emerge from brutal authoritarian rule: Despite current economic and political turmoil, is the achievement of a more prosperous Cambodia ruled by a government based on principles of democracy and respect for human rights a worthwhile goal? The answer to that question must be yes.

A Philippine officer serving with UN forces in Cambodia, quoted in a recent news report from the country, correctly observes: "If this country is ever going to see an end to chaos, it has to begin at the level of ordinary people doing the right thing at a dangerous time."

Public Response and Speculation After Waco

LETTERS

The Opinion page article "The Tragedy After Waco – Public Response," April 27, is one of the best articles I have read so far following the recent Waco tragedy.

It asks the worthy question: Why were agents of the Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco, and Firearms (ATF) in Waco, Texas? It seems that the government has now presented the public with reports of possible child abuse. Though a heinous crime, child abuse is not a federal offense and should not have been dealt with by federal officers.

Furthermore, a group in possession of illegal firearms does not warrant becoming the target of a 51-day siege by government officers, followed by death. Such details support the valid question: Why was this religious group singled out for onslaught of the government? It is even more disturbing that the public is accepting the outcome.

Sarah Taylor ***Portland, Ore.***

The author's view of events during the siege in Waco, Texas, shows a strong and incorrect antigovernment bias as well as a shortsighted lack of respect for public opinion. As one of the majority who agrees that this was a tragedy created by and finished off by the cult members themselves, I am offended.

The author speculates that the Branch Davidians' "real crime ... was their stubborn refusal to bow to conventional orthodoxy and official authority."

Possession of an illegal arsenal of this scope is also a real and serious crime. There can be no mistake that the Davidians were ready and expecting to use it, and perhaps it would have caused greater loss of life than what occurred. I am reassured when conventional authority is looking out for our interests and is willing to risk their lives.

The behavior of the Davidians brought this tragedy on themselves. If we are to credit their statements, they died believing they were headed into paradise. And they, not the ATF, will have to explain this to their Maker.

G. Robert Thompson ***Caldwell, W.V.***

In the Opinion page article, the author asks many valid questions regarding how our government reacted to the Branch Davidian situation.

It was truly a human tragedy to the extent that many lives were lost. There will be much blame to go around and the author has already started his list, citing various United States government agencies. Curiously, David Koresh's name is absent from this list. Perhaps this is indicative of our times, but I am troubled by this omission.

David Hefner ***Bishop, Calif.***

Regarding the editorial "The Waco Victims," April 21: It is somewhat surprising to see the soft tone the Monitor took with David Koresh. To dignify him as a "misunderstood messiah" is ludicrous. To put any blame on the ATF and the FBI is unfair. There is only one person to blame – Mr. Koresh. He manipulated and ruined more than 100 lives all for his own ego.

Shirley B. Berg ***Detroit***

Waco was not about "religious freedom." It was about government knowledge of an assault arsenal large enough to start a small civil war, which was commanded by a hypnotized and clearly unbalanced personality, who misused Holy Writ to justify his delusions. Also it was about sufficient allegations of abuse within that compound, warranting entry much sooner than it actually happened.

Susan Sykes ***Southfield, Mich.***

Letters are welcome. Only a selection can be published, subject to condensation, and none acknowledged. Please fax letters to (617) 450-2317 or address them to "Readers Write," One Norway St., Boston, MA 02115.